THE DIVIDED IRISH

THE HON. A. S. G. CANNING

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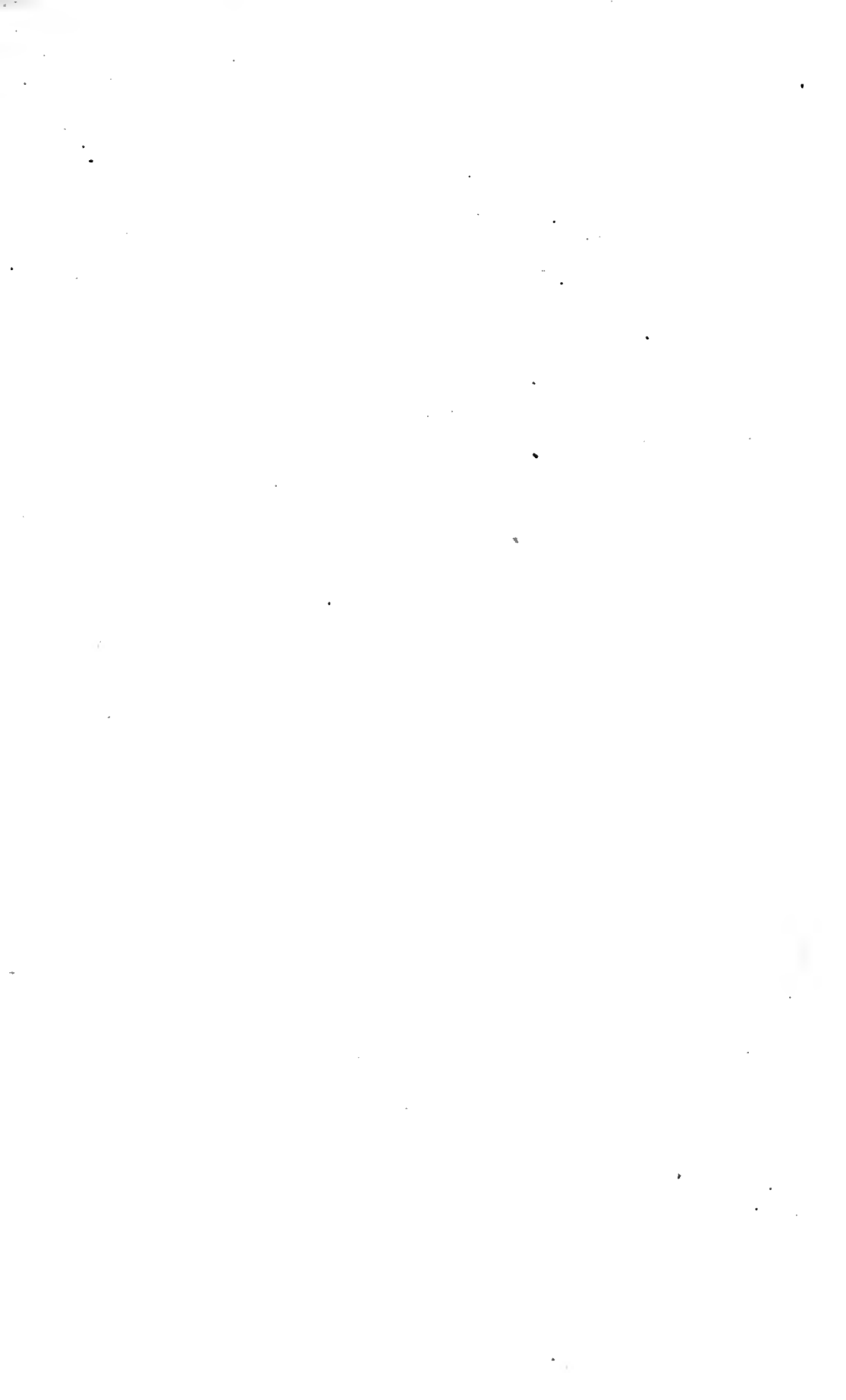
THE
DIVIDED IRISH

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH.

BY

THE HON. ALBERT S. G. CANNING.

Author of " Words on Existing Religions," etc., etc.

'' Oh, wad some power the giftie gie us
　To see oursels as ithers see us ;
　It wad frae mony a blunder free us,
　And foolish notion."
　　　　　　　　　—Burns.

PREFACE.

THIS work is republished with additions, in the hope that it may be useful to general readers. When first published, in 1888, an able London Review stated that it laid too much stress on the clerical element in Irish politics. Recent history, however, apparently justifies the views then expressed. When the clergy of the Irish majority withdrew their support from Mr. Parnell he lost influence with a decisiveness that astonished even his shrewd and practical mind. Whether he lost it deservedly or not may be a matter of opinion. But of the fact and its result there can be no doubt, proving that in politics, clerical influence among the Irish masses remains the chief and ultimate guide.

<div style="text-align:right">A. S. G. CANNING.</div>

June, 1894.

CONTENTS.

WORKS REFERRED TO

1. Alison, Sir Archibald, History of Europe.
2. Buckle, H. T., History of Civilisation.
3. Bagenal, Philip, The American Irish.
4. Berkeley, Hastings, Wealth and Welfare.
5. Carnegie, Andrew, Triumphant Democracy.
6. Caron, Le, Twenty-five years in the Secret Service.
7. Dickens, Charles, Barnaby Rudge.
8. Froude, J. A., The English in Ireland.
9. Hallam, Henry, History of the Middle Ages.
10. Handbook on the Irish Question, The Speaker's.
11. Home Rule, Handbook of.
12. Guizot, M., History of Civilisation.
13. Ingram, Professor, History of the Legislative Union.
14. Jennings, Lewis, M.P., Mr. Gladstone—A Study.
15. Kidd, B., Social Evolution.
16. Lecky, W. H., History of England in the Eighteenth Century.
17.   ,,   Ireland in the Eighteenth Century.
18.   ,,   Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland.
19.   ,,   The Empire.
20. Lilburn, Richard, History of Orangeism.
21. Macaulay, Lord, History of England.
22.   ,,   ,,   Essay on Ranke's History of the Popes
23. Milton, John, Peace with Irish rebels.
24. Mitchel, John, History of Ireland, and Jail Journal.
25. M'Carthy, Justin, M.P., History of our own Times.
26.   ,,   ,,   Junr., Ireland since the Union.
27. Moore, Thomas, Irish Melodies.
28. O'Connor, T. P., The Parnell Movement.
29. Prendergast, The Cromwellian Settlement in Ireland
30. Reid, History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.
31. Rosebery, Lord, Preface to Round the Empire.
32.   ,,   ,,   Life of Pitt.
33. Scott, Sir Walter, Waverley Novels.
34. Shakespere, Historical Plays.
35. Spenser, Edmund, View of Ireland.
36. Sullivan, A. M., New Ireland.
37. Tennyson, Lord, Lines on the opening of the Indian Exhibition.
38. Tone, Theobald Wolfe, Memoirs of.
39. Trench, Stuart, Realities of Irish Life.
40. Whately, Archbishop, Annotations to Bacon's Essays.

THE DIVIDED IRISH.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

THROUGHOUT Britain, for many years, party-spirit, allied with religious animosity, has been little known, or at least produced few dangerous results. To a great extent this feeling has become within it almost a matter of history.* Thus the two greatest British novelists of the century, Walter Scott and Charles Dickens, describe it in historical tales with an impartiality unknown, or unexpressed at any former time. Scott, alike delighted and instructed his readers by describing estimable or worthless characters among all po-

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* "Mere political changes leave the great body of the community untouched, or touch them only feebly, indirectly or superficially, but changes, which affect religious belief, are felt in their full intensity in the meanest hovel.—Lecky's "England in the Eighteenth Century," Vol. II.

litical and religious parties in Britain. Dickens, writing many years later, apparently saw little occasion to dwell upon this subject. His works chiefly address English readers, among whom hypocrisy, meanness, and selfish avarice, the usual accompaniments, perhaps, of a long period of domestic peace, wealth, luxury, and commercial competition, needed condemnation more than an almost extinct spirit of political and religious bigotry. In his chief historical novel, "Barnaby Rudge," Dickens describes the "No Popery" riots in London of the last century with a fairness which would never have been popular except in a community free from religious prejudice. But in the midst of light, as Macaulay says, the thick darkness of the Middle Ages rested upon Ireland, and in some respects his remark still applies to that perplexing country. Many parts of it still cherish and recall the memory of remote civil wars with a vivid interest, and often a vindictiveness no longer manifested in other civilised lands.

During the Reformation the cause of Roman Catholicism was steadily maintained by the native Irish, while the English and Scottish colonists, chiefly in the north of Ireland, fol-

lowed the example of their British fellow-countrymen in becoming Protestant. The wish of James the Second to establish the supremacy of the Irish Roman Catholics, and thus revoke the policy of his royal predecessors, changed Ireland into the battle-field of Protestant or Roman Catholic rule over the British empire. The Irish Catholics for the first time in history abandoned all lingering idea of restoring ancient national independence, and by the influence of their clergy became the champions of the deposed James the Second, considering William the Third a heretic as well as a usurper.* From the civil war between these princes, ending in the defeat of James at the battle of the Boyne, may be dated the extraordinary religious prejudices which have ever since divided Ireland's population in hereditary determined enmity. During the wars of Cromwell, the hope of Ireland's freedom from British rule was still dear to the Irish majority, but the subsequent contest between James and William was, in Ireland, viewed as one of religion rather than of race.

While the defence of Derry and battle of the

* See Macaulay's remarks, "Hist. of England," Vols. I. and II.

Boyne are celebrated by the descendants of victorious Protestants, the descendants of defeated Roman Catholics often allude in party songs or political speeches to a future time of revenge on their fellow-countrymen. Thus a divided population, without real or alleged personal cause of quarrel, are still often inspired with a dangerous hatred, chiefly arising from the effects produced in their minds by one-sided historical traditions.

These fragments of history, with an unfairness inconsistent alike with Christianity or common sense, usually represent opponents and partisans as entirely, and always in the right, or in the wrong. Errors are hardly acknowledged as possible among religious and political partisans; nor are redeeming qualities often attributed to opponents. The latter are usually viewed as little better than the incarnations of sin and danger, while the common Creator each party confidently declares on its side, either blessing in victory, or sympathising in defeat. The custom moreover of burning effigies of religious and political foes, whether living or dead, incurs neither the legal penalty nor the general censure which might be expected among a civilised community. The denial of Divine mercy to

any religious denomination, or declaration of
Divine wrath against any political party, past
or present, produce their natural result in these
revolting exhibitions. The insults offered, either
to Roman Catholicism or to Protestantism by
the comparatively uneducated, only prove their
stubborn, trustful belief in the sermons and
speeches of those who apparently think it more
their duty to embitter than to reconcile the
supposed descendants of historical enemies.
This implacability, when animating the devout
and conscientious, evidently arises from the
extraordinary unreasonable aversion of Irish
religious and political parties to each other's
opinions, being often practically irrespective of
personal character.

The feelings, therefore, of many Irishmen to-
wards religious and political opponents are of a
nature now almost unknown in Britain. The
idea of allowing, even in argument, what is called
fair-play or an equal chance of success to oppo-
nents, is often thought absurd or dangerous.
When differing versions of Christianity are alter-
nately described as soul-destroying, when igno-
rant excitable men are told that belief in either
is fatal to salvation, their conduct in reviling or

wishing to suppress each other's faith is the practical result of credulity. The law throughout the vast British Empire protects the weaker party in all countries from religious or political persecution. In Ireland, were British rule withdrawn, it may be doubted if much freedom of thought or speech would be allowed to any local minority. The unreasoning animosity still inspiring many of the divided Irish about politics, land laws, and differing versions of the same faith, can only be understood by those living in Ireland. The most intimate acquaintance with English or Scottish people is scarcely a sufficient guide for men trying to rule or influence the Irish masses. Hence the successive difficulties, if not failures, of many Irish Chief Secretaries in dealing with the people they attempt to govern. Enlightened, fair-minded statesmen, of whom the late Lord Frederick Cavendish was a notable instance, full of civilised ideas and principles, have found them hopelessly opposed by religious or political animosities worthy of the Middle Ages, and which they apparently thought had disappeared with them. Yet they survive in full force among some most devout, energetic, and popular Irishmen. In fact, admiration for

real liberty in its practical sense is either less felt in Ireland than in Britain, or its popular interpretation is very different. Many who extol it show, and sometimes avow, little consideration, not only for opponents, but even for partisans less prejudiced than themselves. Freedom of thought and expression is often confounded with religious or political ascendancy. The strange uncivilised desire to recall past times of Catholic supremacy or Protestant triumph over fellow-countrymen is not enough discouraged by Irish public opinion. To boast of the battle of Waterloo before Frenchmen, to exult over the defeated Sikhs or Mahrattas in India, or to celebrate in Scotland the Culloden victory over the Highlanders, would be thought insulting, and impolitic, and generally censured by British enlightenment and good sense. In Ireland, unfortunately, public opinion, even among some well-meaning men, is often neither so judicious nor philanthropic. The celebration in songs or processions of former civil wars is maintained with an eager desire to preserve through successive generations a spirit of religious or political alienation among fellow-countrymen owing to ancestral wrongs or triumphs. This

selfish, narrow-minded policy of endangering the
public peace and irritating fellow-subjects by
recalling historical warfare between their sup-
posed ancestors, is universally avoided and con-
demned in every other part of the British
Empire.   That empire now comprises a greater
variety of religions and races than any other of
ancient and modern times, not excepting the
Roman.*   British laws are not only obeyed but
supported and enforced by Jews, Mohammedans,
Parsees, Brahmins, and Buddhists.   Persecution
of Jews and warfare with Mohammedans and
Brahmins have ceased; Jewish and Parsee legis-
lators and traders, Mohammedan and Brahmin
lawyers and soldiers, are among the most loyal
of British subjects.†   Yet in Ireland to this day
even educated men of talent work themselves
and others into dangerous, sometimes fatal, ex-

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* " Ours is the most widely spread and the most penetrating
of nationalities.   The time, indeed, cannot be far remote when
the British Empire must, if it remain united, by the growth of
its population and its ubiquitous dominion, exercise a controlling
authority in the world."—Lord Rosebery's Preface to " Round
the Empire."

† " Remember what India had been for countless ages before
the establishment of British rule, and then consider what it is to
have established, for so many years, over the vast space from
the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, a reign of perfect peace, to
have conferred upon more than 250 millions of the human race
perfect religious freedom, perfect security of life, liberty, and
property."—Lecky's " Empire," p. 44.

citement against Christian fellow-countrymen, owing to recollections of former civil wars. In that island " the seventeenth century has left to the nineteenth a fatal heritage of malignant passions." *   Thus wrote the ablest British historian of this century, and Ireland's history during its last quarter fully verifies the emphatic statement.

* Macaulay's " History of England," Vol. II., chap. vi.

CHAPTER II.

DURING a period of national peace it might be expected that fair, impartial Irish histories would be written ; yet, it is still rare to find impartiality devoted to Ireland. The island has always been, and still continues, more or less the scene of political and religious animosity between its divided inhabitants. This perpetual contention, though not real warfare, presents much of its nature. Yet, except in occasional riots, there has been no serious conflict with armed troops since the rebellion of '98. For many years there has been nothing to prevent the appearance of an impartial history of Ireland. The progress of general information during this century has been unprecedented, and has received encouragement in almost every department. Authors of education, talent, and knowledge, have, indeed, written upon this subject, but their views are generally so one-sided through political or

religious prejudices, that, while some truth may be found in most, yet few, if any, can be thoroughly trusted. British histories are usually impartially and carefully written. Alike before and since the Union of 1700, the details, as well as the leading facts in the histories of England and Scotland are often fairly examined and presented to the study of an impartial public.

Although these kingdoms had frequently warred against each other, their voluntary union under James the First of England and Sixth of Scotland effected their thorough pacification. The united British revolt against his son and successor, Charles the First, tended in its result rather to unite than separate the adjoining kingdoms. The King and the Commonwealth found friends and foes in both. English and Scottish royalists each resisted the Commonwealth, but were alike overcome by its victorious champion, Oliver Cromwell. The Scottish republicans, mostly Lowlanders, cordially joined English partisans in deposing the King, who was finally delivered up by the former to the latter. The British republicans were thoroughly united in policy and sentiment against British royalists, who were equally

united in favour of the deposed Stuart dynasty. From this time, therefore, the national feuds between English and Scottish were completely merged in the changed political views prevalent in Great Britain for and against the monarchy. Most Scottish Highlanders were royalists, allied with the English Cavaliers, while most Scottish Lowlanders, being avowed republicans, favoured the Commonwealth. During this civil war, however, the real spirit of republicanism had few supporters. Its nominal champion, Oliver Cromwell, was more like a shrewd military despot than a lover of republican principle.* He was strenuously opposed by nearly all the landed gentry throughout Great Britain, as well as by most of the wealthier classes. The Commonwealth now became the sole rule of its great hero, Cromwell. Even his republican admirer, Milton, the most learned, accomplished, and intellectual of all his English adherents, addressed him in language of admiring, implicit obedience, hardly consistent with republican sentiment.†

* Even Macaulay admits that, "beyond the limits of his camps and fortresses," Cromwell had no party.—"History of England."

† See Milton's prose works.

Though at this time literary study, if not taste, was confined to a few thoughtful minds, yet Scottish ballads and traditions, as well as English historical legends and records in their different ways, mostly favoured the monarchical principle. In England, Shakspere's historical plays seem at once the cause and effect of this feeling. The great author evidently felt and tried to inspire an attached loyal interest in his country's royal family, with an earnestness surprising in one who personally owed nothing to them. Although he wrote in the reign of Elizabeth, his latest historical play comprised only the first years of her imperious father's rule.

In Henry the Eighth's eventful reign began the first doctrinal contests between fellow-Christians throughout England of lasting consequence. Henry himself represented, as it were, the changing opinions of his subjects. He began his reign by vindicating Roman Catholicism against all assailants, and obtained the Pope's thanks for so doing; but ended his terrible career as the political champion of Protestantism, excommunicated by the same Church which he had previously defended.

The short reign of his son, Edward the Sixth,
and the far more eventful ones of his daughters,
Mary and Elizabeth, witnessed the religious
strife which in England replaced, and in some
respects resembled in destructive fury, the poli-
tical civil wars of former days. Scotland fully
shared in this religious warfare ; and after Eliza-
beth's death the first Protestant Scottish king
peacefully occupied the throne of the United
Kingdom. He also, like previous English kings,
from Henry the Second's time, claimed exclu-
sive rule over Ireland. This nominal union of
the three kingdoms had been foreseen in Eliza-
beth's reign. Shakspere alludes to it in Mac-
beth, where he makes the Scottish usurper see
in a vision shown by the witches several future
British kings bearing treble sceptres. This
poetical and political prophecy James the First
lived to realise. He was always designated
King of Great Britain and Ireland, having no
avowed opponent or legal rival. During his
reign the divisions in the Christian Church
throughout his dominions require careful ex-
amination to fully explain the subsequent his-
tory of Ireland.

In all warfare between English and Irish

since the reign of Henry the Second, the Papacy, together with the English monarchy, were allies in the political conquest and religious government of Ireland. No Irish or foreign king was recognised in Europe either by the Pope or any temporal sovereign, as a rival to English rule. The accession of James the First to the throne of the three united kingdoms brought apparent peace to all. Yet his authority was secretly disavowed by the Irish Catholic majority, and evaded often where it could not be resisted. Religion and race were the two special reasons for this opposition. The descendants of mingled Britons, Saxons, and Normans, comprising the English nation and the Scottish Lowlanders, had always viewed the Scottish Celts, or Highlanders, with distrust; but regarded the Irish Celts with a far greater hostility. The Scottish Highland Celts, however, took little part in the original English or subsequent British colonisation of Ireland. They had indeed long viewed English neighbours and Scottish fellow-countrymen with dislike and apprehension, but, unlike the native Irish, they gradually became more friendly with both.

The success of the Scottish Reformation, and
the union of England with Scotland, aroused
no opposition among the Highlanders, though
most of them remained Roman Catholics. Their
Scottish King, by legally succeeding to the
united kingdom, was free, therefore, in the sight
of his British subjects 'from all the odium of
conquest. He thus represented the free and
peaceful union of Great Britain. As a Protest-
ant, he also represented the religion of the
British majority. James, early taught to regard
the religion of his unfortunate mother, Mary
Queen of Scots, with no favour, viewed Irish
Roman Catholics especially as most undesir-
able subjects. Their faith was still represented
in England by a few distinguished families,
who, though subject in consequence to civil dis-
abilities, retained their property in legal security.
The Catholic Highlanders were thoroughly loyal
to James, as lawful descendant of their long line
of Kings, and though, doubtless, desiring his
conversion to the faith of his ancestors, showed
no wish to dispute his authority. In Ireland
sincere, devoted Roman Catholicism always re-
presented the religious conviction of the majority.
They, generally speaking, viewed James with

dread and hostility. He represented for the first time regal Protestantism without a rival. In the previous reigns of Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth there were either Catholic rivals or legal successors. The English and Scottish Queens, Mary Tudor and Mary Stuart, thus supported the hopes of British Roman Catholics, between whom and the Irish Catholic prelates there existed feelings of political as well as religious union. But these prelates were apparently not as influential in Irish political guidance as they afterwards became. The Irish chiefs, without caring much for clerical sanction, had obstinately resisted English domination either by open revolt or sullen opposition during and since the disastrous reign of King John. But hitherto the cause of their resistance was national, not religious. The warfare waged by them against the Protestant Queen Elizabeth was not entirely a religious contest. The Pope and all true Catholics certainly disliked this Queen ; but the severance of Ireland from England was never contemplated, except by some of the native Irish. On the contrary, the return of England to the Catholic Church was still expected by many, and in that event

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Irish Catholics would have received no Papal
sympathy in resisting English rule.

The suppression of the Irish revolt against
Elizabeth, however, encouraged her successor,
James the First, to settle a British Protestant
colony in the north of Ireland.   This colony
viewed, and was viewed by the Irish, as heredi-
tary foes in religion as well as in race.   Yet,
despite the religious bigotry of the time, no
idea of treating Scottish Catholic Highlanders
like the Irish seems to have occurred to James.
While the British government and colony con-
sidered Irish Catholics dangerous, if not irrecon-
cilable foes, the lives and property of their
British co-religionists were legally safe.   No
confiscation on account of faith alone threatened
British Catholic landowners.   While a portion
of Ulster was conferred upon British Protest-
ants, all Catholic Ireland was regarded with
apprehension by British Protestants in the three
kingdoms as the dangerous refuge of present
and future enemies.   The conduct of British
invaders and Irish natives towards each other
had always given reason for mutual distrust.
The efforts, not only of Irish, but of British
writers on Ireland's history, are often devoted

to exclusive praise or condemnation of the opposing parties. In reality they much resembled each other in deeds and feelings of enmity, which neither thought inconsistent with the Christian profession. In the first invasions of Ireland, from Henry the Second's time to that of Henry the Eighth, this enmity was entirely national—it was that of Saxon against Celt. After his reign the addition of religious bigotry was mingled with the former national animosity. Saxon Protestants were now opposed to Roman Catholic Celts. As Protestantism advanced in England, Roman Catholicism seemed to gain moral strength in Ireland. This combination of opposed feelings and principles has always made Ireland the supreme difficulty of British rulers, even to the present time.*

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* "The Reformation brought a new quarrel into Ireland. The earlier English settlers amalgamated easily with the native Irish, but the later settlers being Protestants never so amalgamated. The old quarrel was superseded by another."—" The Speaker's Handbook," p. 21.

CHAPTER III.

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PROBABLY no other country has been so much influenced as Ireland by its religious history.* In this record must be sought the true explanation of that extraordinary state of public feeling in the unfortunate island which still renders it the chief anxiety, if not the chief danger, of England. To understand Irish history fairly at this period it is necessary to consider the state of continental Europe. France, Spain, and Italy have all been more or less connected with Ireland's religious history. During the Protestant Reformation western Europe was singularly divided between its successes and defeats. The result somewhat disappointed both contending parties. Some Protestants eagerly anticipated the extinction of Catholicism

* " It is possible—and, indeed, likely—that but for religion there would not now be an Irish Question."—" The Speaker's Handbook," p. 21.

like that of its Pagan predecessor, and thus con-
templated its disappearance from a converted
world. On the other hand, many Roman Catho-
lics confidently believed that the new heresy
would be as thoroughly suppressed as those of
the previous English Lollards and French Albi-
genses. It was a doctrinal, and in some re-
spects showed the spirit of a political, revolution,
and was, therefore, dreaded by the French and
Spanish monarchies, from political as well as
religious motives. In Italy, likewise, the seat of
the Papacy, all Protestantism was suspected of
a tendency to political revolt. It was therefore
forcibly and zealously suppressed both in Spain
and Italy. In France it became more for-
midable, but was finally checked though never
entirely extirpated, by the massacre and banish-
ment of its followers.*

Many French Protestants fled to England
and the north of Ireland, where they found their
subjected and persecuted form of Christianity
transformed into the dominant and persecuting.
As a rule, Protestantism, in slightly different
forms, triumphed in the north of Europe and

* See Buckle's and Guizot's " Civilisation in France "; also,
Hallam's " Middle Ages."

failed in the south.* In this respect, the newly-
discovered world of America in a singular man-
ner resembled the old.   While its northern
parts were chiefly colonised by British Prot-
estants, the middle and southern portions of
its vast continent, with most of its islands, were
colonised by Spanish and Portuguese Catho-
lics.   Thus, these two forms of Christianity
reappeared in new quarters of the globe, alike
represented by descendants of European Prot-
estants and Catholics.   Although some French
Catholics settled in the British dominion of
Canada, and some Dutch Protestants in south
America, the former were outnumbered by
British Protestants, and the latter by Spanish
and Portuguese Catholics.   Yet, fortunately for
the new world's prosperity, its different religious
denominations rarely came into hostile collision.
In Europe, after bitter doctrinal strife, some-
times causing political contest, most countries
settled down undisturbed, either gladly accept-
ing the new or contentedly retaining the old
form of Christianity.   It was, however, the fate

* " Alone among the northern nations the Irish adhered to
the ancient faith ; and the cause of this seems to have been
that the national feeling which in happier countries was directed
against Rome was in Ireland directed against England."—
Macaulay's " Essay on Ranke's History."

of Ireland to be involved with Great Britain in a permanent conflict of religious opinion. During the Reformation, theological strife in these three countries completely supplanted the political contests of former days. England and Scotland, firmly united under James the First, abandoned all national jealousies in striving to promote Protestantism within and without their actual limits. In this object, Ireland was their determined opponent, being politically defeated, yet doctrinally victorious. Ireland was subdued by England, but Irish Catholicism rejected every form of Protestantism by an immense majority. The enmity of the Irish appeared not only in frequent revolts and tumults at home, but in bitter complaints which they spread throughout Catholic Europe against British authority. James the First knew, therefore, that under his nominal sway there existed foes as implacable as any foreign enemy.

Religion, however, was not yet the sole cause of Irish animosity. The national hatred between Celt and Saxon still predominated, but this antipathy was soon to blend with the yet more bitter feeling of religious prejudice. The fallen Church was now all the more distrusted

in England owing to the detection of the Gun-
powder Plot. This design was the work of a
few English Catholics of desperate character
and broken fortune. Yet, despite the alarm it
excited, British Catholics were never viewed or
treated like their Irish co-religionists. They
belonged to the same race as their rulers, and
while enduring legal restrictions, retained their
property free from spoliation. While they de-
plored their King's Protestantism, they acknow-
ledged no rival to him or his dynasty. But to
Irish Catholics the British of Stuart merely
represented a long line of invaders, whom
their ancestry had steadily resisted, and never
obeyed except when compelled. To banish
or oppress them, was the tempting but unscru-
pulous policy that James adopted. England
was now aided by Scotland in invading and
colonising Ireland. From this reign, inclusive,
the three religious divisions of English Prela-
tists, Scottish Presbyterians, and Irish Roman
Catholics, made Ireland a scene of either war-
fare or political intrigue. British colonists,
by their King's special will and sanction, took
possession of a large part of Ulster. The rest
of Ireland also was under either his real or

nominal authority. This remarkable invasion, called the Plantation of Ulster, while resembling former invasions in political design, was inspired by a thoroughly new religious motive. In all previous English incursions the religion of invaders and natives was at least nominally the same. Hence probably the indifference with which all European nations had viewed the cause of Irish independence. But the Reformation aroused new feelings and new political motives throughout Europe. The freedom of thought which British Protestants professed to advocate as being unknown under Roman Catholic dominion, during their own supremacy, was not always granted to others.* This right was eloquently advocated in England by the illustrious Milton, the most enlightened of republican dissenters. He earnestly vindicated his party for executing Charles the First, owing to alleged violation of their political rights, yet he bitterly rebuked the Ulster Presbyterians, immediate descendants of James the First's British colony, for loyalty to their King and his family. Although a conscientious rebel him-

* See Hallam's " Middle Ages," and Guizot's " Civilisation."

self against regal tyranny, he somewhat suddenly discovered and sternly condemned the guilt of rebellion when directed against the rule of his own party.*

The British revolution against Charles the First, his execution, and the subsequent dictatorship of Cromwell, produced a strange, even bewildering effect upon the three religious denominations of Ireland. None of them favoured republicanism. An hereditary British monarch or independent native chiefs were the only alternatives in the Irish mind of the period. No foreign government claimed, or apparently desired, authority over the island. The Papacy acknowledged no Irish sovereign but the English monarch. The descendants of former independent chiefs, unlike Scottish Highlanders, acknowledged no particular native king. Irish Catholics, therefore, unanimously resisted Crom-

* After denouncing Irish Catholics, Milton thus rebukes Irish Presbyterians, whose support he evidently expected, for disapproving the execution of Charles the First. " We [British republicans] have now to deal, though in the same country, with another sort of adversaries—in show far different [from Irish Catholics], in substance much the same. These write themselves the Presbytery of Belfast. And let them take heed that these their treasonous attempts and practices have not involved them in a far worse guilt of rebellion, and in the appearance of a co-interest and partaking with the Irish [Catholic] rebels."—" Articles of Peace with Irish Rebels."

well, some, perhaps, wishing to restore the British monarchy ; others, under Sir Phelim O'Neill, a chief of ancient lineage, probably hoping for Irish independence.*

Religious interests, therefore, during and after this period chiefly decided Irish feeling and policy. The Prelatists at first favoured the fallen monarchy, while the Presbyterians, though glad at the downfall of English Prelacy, were shocked at the King's execution, warmly protested against it, and with some reluctance finally submitted to Cromwell.† They were, indeed, at this time far more monarchical than their British co-religionists. This feeling, however, had soon to yield before the necessities of their position. The Irish Catholic majority, who now tried to banish or extirpate them as well as the Prelatists, were totally defeated by Cromwell, heading united British and Irish Protestants. He, by the conquest of Ireland, subdued the majority, while obtaining the reluctant

* See Lecky's " History of England in the Eighteenth Century."

† " They [Irish Presbyterians] concurred with the Royalists in condemning the execution of the king, and in maintaining the rights of his son to the throne, and with the Republicans in opposing the restoration of Prelacy."—Reid's " History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland," Vol. II.

but universal adhesion of the non-Catholic mi-
nority. He also poured fresh supplies of Protest-
ant colonists into Ireland, and apparently con-
templated substituting them for the native race
altogether.* Cromwell's triumph, though at first
disapproved by Irish Protestants, owing to mon-
archical principle, thus resulted in confirming
their political supremacy over the Catholic
majority. But this supremacy only widened
the breach between them. The greater part of
Ireland, subdued by force, controlled, and, in
some respects, governed by a minority devoted
to British rule, remained in feeling and principle
perfectly independent of England. The native
Irish found themselves placed by British power
under the rule of that same minority whom
they had previously tried to banish or exter-
minate. They neither expected nor received
consideration or justice from foes who had so
narrowly escaped their vengeance. Fortunately,
however, for human nature, the Irish Protestants,
though often cruel and vindictive, were unable,
from their comparatively small numbers, to in-
flict as much injury as they wished, or as they

* See Macaulay's remarks on this subject ; also, Prendergast's
"Cromwellian Settlement."

had themselves been threatened with by the Catholic majority.

Historians and politicians often blame the conduct of opposing factions, usually insinuating, perhaps believing, that their own party made a better use of power, or had more excuse for undeniable crimes than their opponents. Yet history, if impartially studied, tells a different story, provided due allowance is made for the prejudices of individual writers. In fact, the terms cruelty, oppression, and injustice, as they are now understood in peaceful, civilised communities, would not have been so understood at this period by any party in Ireland. British history has been for many years comparatively influenced by the spirit of civilisation. In the historical works of Burnet, Clarendon, Hume, Tytler, and Lingard, even in the historical plays and novels of Shakspere and Scott, there appears a love of justice rarely found among writers on Irish history. The latter, whether British or Irish, usually resemble political or religious advocates. Irish poets also, among whom Moore is supreme, whether in prose or verse, generally show the same party spirit, rendering it the more alluring, if not

convincing, by the charm of their fascinating
talents. Irish novelists, like Carleton, Lever,
&c., usually ignore historical inquiry, preferring
to describe the comic and tragic incidents of
Irish military and peasant life. Yet these writers,
compared to Moore, had little influence over
Irish minds. British historians have perman-
ently influenced their readers in forming poli-
tical views. The Irish are more guided, even in
historical opinion, by poetry, political speeches,
and often by sermons. British civil wars and
religious divisions have long ceased to excite
English or Scottish readers to any dangerous
extent. Their records are studied for truthful
instruction in a spirit of calm, scholastic inquiry.
The study of historical persecutions now arouses
in British minds feelings of pity, regret, and
even shame, but neither triumph nor desire
for revenge. The perpetrators, long gone to
their account, have taken their place among
the tyrants and zealots of former ages. The
British public, enlightened by those literary
benefactors whom Macaulay ranks among the
many glories of England, have learned valuable
lessons for the great duty of human govern-
ment. Since the last British civil war in 1745,

English and Scottish literature, instead of inflaming, has tended to pacify all angry passions or resentful feelings among supposed descendants of victors and vanquished. Sir Walter Scott proved his true patriotism by thus devoting literary genius to its cause. In his historical novels especially, the motives of opposing religious or political factions are described with conscientious truth. He thus enlightened, pacified, and improved the united British nation, divided, yet not much embittered, by religious or political differences. This result Scott accomplished with a success perhaps unequalled in literary history.* In these noble compositions of mingled truth and fiction all readers are induced to respect opponents as well as partisans.

* The two chief Scottish historians of this century, differing on most subjects, agree in praising even the historical merits of Scott. "No man ever threw a more charming radiance over the traditions of ancient times, but none ever delineated in a nobler spirit the virtues of the present. It has been truly said that the influence of his writings neutralised to a certain extent the effect of the Reform Bill ; but it is not less true that none ever contributed more powerfully to that purification without which all others are nugatory—the reform of the human heart." —Alison's "History of Europe," Vol. I., chap. v. Macaulay says that Scott "used those fragments of truth which historians have scornfully thrown behind them in a way which may well excite their envy. He has constructed out of their gleanings works which, even considered as histories, are scarcely less valuable than theirs."—"Essay on History."

Without attempting to effect religious or political conversion, Scott taught, or rather induced, all parties to be just, considerate, and merciful.   He left to professed politicians and theologians the task of advocacy, while practically enabling readers to respect right motives in those they distrust as well as in those they believe.

CHAPTER IV.

IN most histories of Ireland impartial stu-
dents will perceive how averse or unable
their authors are to recognise any merit in
opponents, whether religious or political. Yet it
would be unfair to ascribe evil motives to these
writers. The truth probably is that before writ-
ing history they resolve to do all they can to
promote certain views or principles they believe
correct, and, therefore, they write with the zeal
of retained advocates. For this object, the less
said about the merits of opponents or the errors
of partisans, the better. If both could be con-
cealed, when they cannot be denied, all the
better, they think, for the public. Should
readers, therefore, occasionally draw wrong in-
ferences, they believe even this result would do
less harm than to weaken a right cause by
arousing admiration for any of its foes, or con-
tempt for any of its supporters. So general is

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this party spirit, that readers who love truth
for its own sake must yet calmly examine even
unjust writers, as most of them teach some
truth, a few perhaps nothing but the truth, but
hardly any the whole truth.   This state of mind
among educated men can only be attributed to
that unreasoning, and therefore unreasonable,
aversion with which they view matters of
opinion, irrespective of conduct and character.
The practical result is inevitable, for good and
bad men, the most conscientious and most un-
scrupulous, are united and opposed in religious
and political views.

These unnatural alliances and enmities for the
sake of differing religious or political opinions,
have always been among the most dangerous
moral results of civil war and rebellion.   Usually
after the excitement of conflict is over, the
public mind, through the influence of peace and
reflection, is able to recognise some merit in
the most inveterate opponents.   This fairness
of judgment Shakspere and Scott alike display.
The former in historical plays describes Henry
the Fourth's rebellion against his cousin, Richard
the Second, the subsequent wars of the Roses,
and part of Henry the Eighth's reign, without

bitterness against any party.   Even his descrip-
tion of the French wars in "King John" and
"Henry the Fifth" would offend neither Eng-
lish nor French.   The champions of York and
Lancaster, in his dramatic picture of the English
civil war, show the same combined heroism and
cruelty, the same devotion to ideas of political
duty, and the same ferocity which really dis-
tinguished both parties in their terrible contest.
In Scott's subsequent historical novels describing
the British civil wars and Jacobite rebellions of
1715-45, he, like his poetical predecessor, con-
veys historic truth with remarkable impartiality,
while involving it with imaginary characters and
incidents.   If these works are compared with
the histories of Holinshed, Clarendon, Hume,
Hallam, Macaulay, and Green, their resemblance
in most events and characters is undeniable,
and acknowledged by literary men of the present
century.*   These writers, when mentioning Irish
history, are forced to trust authorities generally
more partial than truthful ; for most writers on
Ireland should be calmly examined, and allow-

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* See Staunton and Hallam on Shakspere's Historical Plays :
" Illustrated Shakspere" and " Literary History of Europe" ;
also, Alison and Macaulay on Scott's Historical Novels.—"His-
tory of Europe" and " Essay on History."

ance made for excited language and intense party spirit, otherwise erroneous ideas are sure to be inspired. In this respect the contrast between British and Irish histories deserves far more attention than it receives.*

The Jacobite revolts of 1715-45, and even the terrible career of Napoleon the First in this century, are now alike discussed with perfect calmness in Britain and throughout the Continent. The sanguinary records of these devastating wars no longer arouse social or national hostility. Yet their enormous destruction of human life occurred within the last hundred and fifty years. In Ireland historic recollections of the comparatively remote wars of Cromwell and Charles the First, of James the Second and William the Third, each vaguely connected with the first historical warfare of English and Irish, to this day arouse deadly hatred. It would seem from the works of Edmund Spenser, Milton, and other early Protestant writers on Ireland, as well as from the conduct of Irish Catholics, that they agreed in believing that neither of them could live in Ireland with-

* See Mr. Lecky's remarks on this subject—"History of England in the Eighteenth Century."

out the oppression, if not the extinction, of the other.* This antipathy, for a long time strictly national, became mingled with, and was finally superseded by, religious animosity.

The penal laws sanctioned by British Protestants against Irish Catholics were strongly recommended by the Protestant colonists. They had narrowly escaped and still dreaded extermination by the Catholic majority, against whose religion rather than race these persecuting laws were directed. The enactments, evidently caused by fear of the same religious bigotry in others, which they themselves reveal, practically rewarded all Irish who abandoned Catholicism, while threatening more penalties than the government were able to inflict on those who remained true to their faith. These laws, recorded in one-sided histories, and recalled in violent political speeches, are the foundation in many Irishmen of political and social prejudices to this day.

Although since the reign of William the

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* " Compromise had become impossible. The two infuriated castes were alike convinced that it was necessary to oppress or to be oppressed, and that there could be no safety but in victory, vengeance, and dominion."—Macaulay's " History of England," Vol. III.

Third many Irish revolts or tumults, as well as constant hostility between secret societies, have occurred, none so completely form Irish ideas or absorb their sympathies as the religious war terminated by his triumph. While educated Irishmen, mixing in British or foreign society, generally share in the progressive enlightenment of their times, this influence has been surprisingly little felt by the Irish masses in their own country. With them former wars are recalled by worldly interests, religious prejudices, and political hopes, almost as vividly as if the great civil war of 1688 had occurred within living memory.* The sieges of Derry and Limerick, and battle of the Boyne, not only cause annual celebrations, but are constantly recalled in songs, speeches, riots, and sermons. Ardent interest in such memories is not confined to the old or reflecting members of the Irish community. Young men, even lads, especially in Ulster, find in them constant incentives to quarrels and fights.

* " No amnesty for the mutual wrongs inflicted by the Saxon defenders of Londonderry and by the Celtic defenders of Limerick has ever been granted from the heart by either race. Neither of the hostile castes can be justly absolved from blame."—Macaulay's " History of England, Vol. II., chap. vi.

Maledictions on the Pope, whoever he is, and on William the Third, as the immortal representatives of Irish Christian divisions, are constantly uttered, scrawled on doors, affixed to walls, shouted in the streets and at public meetings. The weekly sermons, which in Ireland often influence politics far more than in England, besides local newspapers, preserve with zealous, untiring energy, the historical recollections which to this day chiefly guide Irish public opinion.

The so-called National poetry also has a powerful effect in the same direction. Moore's Irish melodies, combining ancient music with comparatively modern and thoroughly anti-English sentiments, though beautifully expressed in the enemy's language, have probably great effect in maintaining, if not increasing, historical enmity to England. Although he avoids mentioning Christian divisions, yet British authority has been so long identified with Protestantism, that his constant allusion to Saxon oppression can only excite anger against British rule. In this respect Moore, though residing much in England, has inspired or maintained the same enmity to it

as his Irish poetical predecessors displayed.*
The old Irish bards, whose influence their
English fellow-poet, Spenser, so strongly con-
demns, have long been surpassed in popularity,
though perpetuated in sentiment, by their bril-
liant successor.† Moore, while enjoying English
admiration, praise, and patronage,· nevertheless
imitated those unfortunate minstrels, who cer-
tainly received very different treatment from
the same nation, against which they alike di-
rected their poetic genius. ‡   To encourage

* See Spenser's "View of Ireland."
† Moore thus defends himself for living in England, which so
rewarded his talents; even in this beautiful vindication he
evidently censures British rule in Ireland :—

"Oh ! blame not the bard if he fly to the bowers,
    Where pleasure lies carelessly smiling at fame,
He was born for much more, and in happier hours
    His soul might have burned with a holier flame.
But, alas for his country ! her pride has gone by,
    And that spirit is broken which never would bend ;
O'er the ruin her children in secret must sigh,
    For 'tis treason to love her, and death to defend," &c.

If Moore did not mean political allusion by these lines. yet such
would certainly be their construction among many Irishmen even
to the present day.

‡ "There is amongst the Irish a certain kind of people called
bards, which are to them instead of poets.   There is none so
bad but shall find some to favour his doings, but such licentious
poets as these, tending for the most part to the hurt of the
English, or maintenance of their own lewd liberty, they them-
selves being most desirous thereof do most allow.   Do you not
think that many of these praises might be applied to men of
best deserts ?   Yet are they all yielded to a most notable traitor."
—Spenser's "View of Ireland."   Centuries later, in the English
capital were sung to a delighted British audience Irish melodies,

Irish hatred to modern England may not have been Moore's intention, but it was the result of many of his most beautiful verses. Their influence in Ireland has, perhaps, been greater than ever contemplated by the writer. He might have thought he could as safely allude to English invasions as Scott did when describing British civil wars in his novels and poems.*

also tending decidedly to "the hurt of the English." Yet the charm of the music and beauty of the poetry apparently overcame even the Scottish Tory, Sir Archibald Alison. "It was very difficult for young men to resist the attraction of a society where Moore sang his bewitching melodies, with still more bewitching right honourables, in the evening, and the lustre of the most splendid assemblies or balls closed the scene of enchantment."—"History of Europe," Vol. I., chap. v.

* Scott unites patriotism with poetry without rousing the least national bitterness.

> "Flodden's fatal field,
> Where shivered was fair Scotland's spear,
> And broken was her shield."—"Marmion."

Moore, writing some years later, constantly appeals to Irish historical animosity :—

> "But onward ! the green banner rearing,
> Go, flesh every sword to the hilt ;
> On *our* side is Virtue and Erin ;
> On *theirs* is the Saxon and Guilt."

And again :—

> "Thus freedom now so seldom wakes ;
> The only throb she gives
> Is when some heart indignant breaks
> To show that still she lives."

The following lines are not calculated to discourage dynamite plots or political assassination among the Irish at home or in America :—

> "Though sweet are our home recollections,
> Though sweet are the tears that from tenderness fall,
> Though sweet are our friendships, our hopes, our affections,
> Revenge on a tyrant is sweetest of all."—"Irish Melodies."

The more recent Scottish writers, Alison and
Aytoun, express Tory views freely in prose
and verse, but all historical rancour seems to have
vanished from Scotland. Macaulay describes
Scottish civil wars in a spirit quite opposed to
them, yet none of these writers irritate their fel-
low-countrymen against each other, nor rouse
enmity to England. Their views are alternately
approved or blamed, believed or distrusted by
the British public, without anger or excitement.
In Ireland the same calm judgment on matters
of history remains comparatively unknown. The
progress of time has had less effect in calming
popular feeling in it than in any other European
country.

CHAPTER V.

THE restoration of the monarchy under Charles the Second, while occasioning warfare in Scotland between Prelatists and Presbyterians, brought comparative peace to England and Ireland. In the former, re-established Prelacy represented the faith of the majority ; in the latter it represented a small minority compared to the Catholics, but a majo-rity over other denominations. Irish Prelatists, being more connected with England than either Catholics or Presbyterians, had the chief power in Ireland, and steadily supported British rule from combined principle and interest. But the accession of James the Second again threw Ire-land's Christian divisions into singular collision. This prince, the last of the Stuart Kings, occu-pied, especially in Ireland, an extraordinary position. He represented the race of the inva-

ders and the religion of the invaded.*   The chief
aim of his Irish policy was to reverse that of his
grandfather, James the First.   The period that
elapsed between their reigns had witnessed the
partially obeyed rule of Charles the First in Ire-
land, its stern conquest by Cromwell, and the
comparatively quiet reign of Charles the Second.

When James the Second ascended the Throne
religious feuds and controversies were agitating
a great part of Europe.   In the south Catholi-
cism completely extinguished Protestantism.
Whether it appeared in political revolt or doc-
trinal argument, it was suppressed by force and
legal enactment.†   Throughout the north, how-
ever, Protestantism, though in slightly different
forms, prevailed.   The contest, therefore, in the
British empire, was watched with keen interest

* "At once an Englishman and a Roman Catholic, he be-
longed half to the ruling, half to the subject caste, and was,
therefore, peculiarly qualified to be a mediator between them.
Unhappily, James, instead of becoming a mediator, became
the fiercest and most reckless of partisans.   Instead of allay-
ing the animosity of the two populations, he inflamed it to a
height before unknown.   He determined to reverse their re-
lative positions, and to put the Protestant colonists under the
feet of the Popish Celts.   He meditated the design of confis-
cating, and again portioning out the soil of half the island,
and showed his inclination so clearly that one class was soon agi-
tated by terror, which he afterwards vainly wished to soothe,
and the other by hopes which he afterwards wished to
restrain."—Macaulay's "History of England," Vol. II.

† See Macaulay's "History of England" and Buckle's
"Civilisation."

by Continental nations. The final triumph of William the Third left Great Britain divided between two allied forms of Protestantism, while the old faith was retained by a small, un-influential minority. In Ireland Protestant triumph, though apparently complete, was po-litical alone. All Catholic claimants to the Throne seemed banished from Irish minds, but the hearts of the majority acknowledged no Protestant sovereign. To the religious obedience for centuries devoted to the Pope was now added a political deference, which, though prevented by Protestant rule from seeming more than a sentiment, has ever since been the guide of Irish Catholic policy.

A striking proof of unaltered principle among Irish Catholics amid European change was shown in the French invasions of Ireland in the seven-teenth and eighteenth centuries. In the first the invaders under St. Ruth were ardent Catholics, and had lately persecuted French Huguenots for political as well as doctrinal reasons.* This heresy, as they termed it, they considered re-bellious as well as false. It was associated in

* See Macaulay's "History of England"; also, Buckle's "Civilisation."

the French mind at this time with revolution as well as with error. They invaded Ireland by order of their King, Louis XIV., to restore the deposed James the Second, with the assistance of Irish Catholics, who still acknowledged his royal rights. For a brief period, through James's favour, the Irish Catholics obtained not only liberty, but a short-lived supremacy. It was then that their clergy, in grateful loyalty, persuaded their people to support the English, or, as they called him, Saxon king, against rebellious Protestant subjects, and to renounce all idea of Celtic independence, which hitherto they had never entirely abandoned. The loyalty of Irish Catholics to James was thus chiefly caused by the general revolt of British Protestants against him. His deposition, therefore, transformed him from a Saxon tyrant into a converted champion. Thus his French allies had again to combat Protestantism allied with political rebellion.

About a century later French troops reappeared in Ireland imbued with religious and political principles directly opposed to those of their predecessors. Ardent Catholic monarchists were replaced by equally ardent republican

atheists. Their new republic had nominally abolished by public edict all religious worship in France, and declared war against Christianity throughout Europe.* This law was only obeyed for a short time in France. Both the Protestant north and Catholic south of Europe preserved their religion, and successfully resisted French atheism, allied with republican principles. During the period elapsing between these two invasions of Ireland—1688 and 1798—the Irish nation had very little changed. The British revolts in behalf of James the Second's son and grandson in 1715-45 caused no Irish rising.†

Ireland remained sullenly tranquil as far as the Catholic majority were concerned during the end of William the Third's life and during the following reign of Queen Anne. From her reign all British sovereigns were conditionally so on being Protestant, and yet were undisputed rulers

* See Macaulay's " Essay on Ranke's History."

† "Neither when the Elder Pretender was crowned at Scone, nor when the younger held his Court at Holyrood, was the standard of that House set up in Connaught or Munster. In 1745, indeed, when the Highlanders were marching towards London, the Roman Catholics of Ireland were so quiet that the Lord Lieutenant could, without the smallest risk, send several regiments across St. George's Channel to recruit the army of the Duke of Cumberland."—Macaulay's " History," Vol. IV., chap. xvii.

of Ireland, till the republican revolt in '98, dur-
ing the reign of George the Third.*   On this
occasion, for the first time in history, some
Protestant and Presbyterian colonists not only
joined, but headed many Catholic fellow-country-
men in united revolt against British monarchy.
No rival prince, however, appeared, either of
Irish or British descent. Not only had all repre-
sentatives of ancient Celtic kings vanished or
become, like the once regal O'Briens, obedient
subjects to Britain, but no descendant of the
banished Stuarts reappeared on the Irish scene
of action.   A part of the north of Ireland was
retained tenaciously by British Protestant colo-
nists, but the greater part, though peaceful, was
as devotedly Catholic as ever.   The British
government,   not   unnaturally,   believed   the

* "The danger of a rebellious Catholic interest appears at
this time to have been little felt.   The general conservatism of
Catholicism throughout the Continent, the total abstinence of the
priesthood from Irish politics, the sincere and undoubted loyalty
of the Catholic gentry, the passive attitude of the Catholic
population during all the political troubles of the eighteenth
century, the authority which the landlords exercised over their
tenants, the complete concentration in Protestant hands of the
elements of political power, and the enormous superiority of
the Protestants in energy and intelligence, made danger from this
quarter appear very remote.   But among the Presbyterians of
the north there were some disquieting signs of a Republican
and anti-English spirit."—Lecky's "History of England in the
Eighteenth Century," Vol. VI.

descriptions of Ireland and the Irish furnished by these colonists. They, truly enough, always represented Irish Catholics as intensely hostile to a rule which they certainly had little reason to love. Yet, though Irish aversion to British rule was great, attachment to Catholicism was, if possible, a still stronger sentiment.

While throughout Catholic Europe the clergy are sometimes the objects of ridicule to the frivolous, the desperate, or the sceptical, in Ireland they are viewed with some degree of awe, even by the most reckless of their people. They are always not only the mental consolers and directors, but the most trusted advisers of the Irish majority on almost every subject. This clerical influence has its effect even on Irish non-Catholics, without their being, perhaps, always aware of it. Prelatists and Presbyterians often rival each other in awarding their clergy far more influence than is usual in most countries. Even in some English parishes ridiculing "the old parson" is frequent among the giddy, immoral, or reckless members of his flock. Among the divided Irish any such jeering is comparatively unknown, even among the

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thoughtless and dissipated. All sneering and ridiculing, even among the most scornful, are usually reserved for the clergy of other denominations. No matter how reckless or disobedient Irish youths may be, when warned by their clergy about their conduct, they yet respect them as religious, and often as political directors. Their minds, greatly influenced by their country's history, view their clergy as respective champions, who, though occasionally strict or vexatious, they yet hope to see triumph over all religious opponents. The Irish clergy, by often mingling historical allusions with Scriptural instruction, thus resemble eloquent advocates as well as religious teachers. This position in Ireland is occupied to some extent by all three divisions of its clergy, owing to its singular history. Of these the Prelatists represent established English Protestantism allied with English political rule. The majority of the wealthy both in land and money belong to this denomination. The Presbyterians mostly descended from Scottish colonists settled in Ulster, together with the Prelatists, in the reign of James the First. There were, however, occasional, though unimportant, disputes between

them.* The Presbyterians accused the Prela-
tists of proud, selfish arrogance, owing to their
political supremacy, while the latter accused
them of a secret leaning to republicanism,
which only their dread of the Catholics pre-
vented their openly avowing. There was prob-
ably some truth in both complaints, as they
were precisely what might be expected from the
historical and social positions of the two denomi-
nations. But these quarrels never caused serious
consequences. Both parties always practically
sympathised with each other in opposing Irish
Catholics, who considered them, and were con-
sidered by them, as hereditary foes. This un-
fortunate expression is to this day disgracefully
prevalent among even the clergy of Ireland's
three denominations. Impartial historical study
can alone explain its retention by men whose
sacred profession would seem to forbid its use
altogether. Roman Catholic priests in Ireland,
however, though their duties and obligations are
the same everywhere, are yet in a somewhat
different position from what they occupy in any
other country. Throughout Europe they are,
and always were, consistent, though sometimes

* See Reid's " History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland."

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indirect supporters of monarchy and established law.

In Poland, often compared to Ireland owing to its subjected Catholic population, the priests sympathise as much with the oppressed Catholic noble as with the peasant. In Ireland alone they are allied with democratic revolutionists, a class whom, throughout Europe, it is alike their duty and interest to oppose. Their position in Ireland, when calmly examined, is interesting and arduous to a great degree. By Church rules they are bound to their people while abandoning many social advantages, privileges, and pleasures. Among Catholics they are admired for self-denial by all classes. Even in some Protestant countries they are, to some extent, respected for conscientious motives. But in Ireland they encounter opposite feelings of intense veneration and equally intense enmity. They can hardly do wrong in the estimation of co-religionists, among whom their occasional violence of language and conduct is alike condoned. By many rules of self-denial they give proofs of devotion to their people, and are, therefore, obeyed, even venerated, in cases where they cannot be loved. But in the opinion of

many Irish non-Catholics they are seldom, if ever, in the right. Some design, some secret, evil object, the more dangerous because unknown, is sometimes attributed by Protestants to priests who are above reproach, and to whom publicity can bring nothing but honour. For such suspicion the language of some priests affords more reason than their conduct, as in pulpits or at political meetings historical wrongs often influence their minds. These grievances, however, they learn in one-sided histories, from which they, and Irish Protestants in opposing versions, derive all historical knowledge. These prejudiced, often avowedly partial records, while professing to teach Irish history, cannot be expected to make men just. Thus, during the close of this nineteenth century, respect for historic truth, free from religious or political bias, though not, of course, as rare, seems nearly as unpopular among Irish people as ever.

CHAPTER VI.

THE practical desires of the three Irish divisions—Prelatist, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic—may be instructively compared. As they alike arise from their country's peculiar history, they to some extent explain its religious, social, and political condition. The Prelatists are thoroughly English in theological and political views. They strive to maintain and strengthen British rule, and loyally obey British laws, while identifying themselves with British interests. To make Ireland as like England as possible by every means and in every way is always their cherished object. They comprise nearly all the Irish peers and most of the landowners.* This class being thoroughly English

* " Presbyterians have never formed any very considerable portion of the Irish aristocracy, and those among them who have attained high rank have, in times past, generally evinced a disposition to pass over into the Church as by law established."— Reid's " History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland," Vol. III.

in feeling, habits, and principle, often visit England. They believe their position in Ireland was both preserved and confirmed by William the Third, whom they, like many British Prelatists, consider their historical champion. Some of the latter, however, always viewed him either as a usurper or more usually as a foreigner, prevented by British adherents from favouring Dutch fellow-countrymen at the expense of those who had made him their King.* British admiration for William the Third is less than that of Irish non-Catholics. Among the latter he is transformed into a glorious, almost faultless, hero. Prelatists and Presbyterians unite in extolling his name and exploits, investing him with more great qualities than are usually admitted by British historians, except, indeed, Macaulay, who admires him rather as a political than religious champion.

Among a nation so fiercely divided as the impetuous Irish, this cautious, tolerant, unimpassioned prince was hard to understand. The different parties, therefore, put their own constructions on him ; and he was considered by

* See Macaulay's remarks on this subject.—"History of England."

many Irish Catholics an eager Protestant enthusiast, who wished to extinguish their religion, if not their race. In reality he was different from either Irish Protestant or Catholic ideas of him. Living in the midst of British and Continental warfare, as well as controversy with religious intolerance raging around him, he was evidently a man whose calm judgment and European knowledge put him far in advance of his times.* He usually checked intolerance and even restrained enthusiasm among all whom he could influence. It was his remarkable fate to be opposed by Irish Catholics, Scottish Presbyterian Covenanters, and even some English Prelatists. The civil war against Irish Catholics, the English revolt of Sir John Fenwick and Sir John Friend, the union of Scottish Covenanters with Scottish Jacobites against him, and the refusal of the chief English Protestant prelates—Sancroft, Ken, &c.—to acknowledge his authority, prove that this extraordinary prince had to contend with nearly all sections of his divided subjects, while obtaining the somewhat limited confidence of the majority. But in Ire-

* See Bishop Burnet's "Memoirs," Macaulay's "History," and Scott's "Old Mortality."

land he is still the hero of all non-Catholics, while other British sovereigns are comparatively disregarded. He is at once the incarnation of preserved British rule and Protestant safety. Among Irish Presbyterians he is viewed with rather less admiration than among Prelatists. This difference probably arises from the intercourse between them and their Scottish co-religionists, with whom William was never very popular.* From the south of Scotland the first Presbyterians came into Ireland, settling in Ulster, the part nearest to Scotland, where they remained closely united with their Scottish brethren in religious and political views.† Yet though less demonstrative than the Prelatists, the Irish Presbyterians were by their endangered position forced to be more unconditionally loyal to William than their Scottish co-religionists. Among the latter only the more moderate, though these formed the majority, could endure his tolerant policy, which the more vehement bitterly denounced, some even aiding their old foes, the Scottish Jacobites, composed of Prelatists and Catholics, to restore James the

* Macaulay's " History," and Scott's "Old Mortality."
† Reid's " History " ; also, Macaulay's.

Second.   Irish Presbyterians had no alternative
but to acknowledge William as their King.
Although they, like their Scottish brethren,
often quarrelled with Prelatist fellow-country-
men, yet all Irish non-Catholics knew that
they were surrounded by foes who believed
them equally hostile to their hopes and interests.
The disputes among the colonists might have
become serious, but the constantly threatening
presence of the Catholic majority forced all
quarrelling Protestants into active alliance for
mutual self-preservation.*   Thus Irish Prelatists
looked to England, and Presbyterians to Scot-
land, for political guidance; and in the religious
history of Britain describing the disputes be-
tween these non-Catholic divisions may be found
the causes of their occasional enmity in Ireland,

* Mr. Froude differs from Macaulay about the treatment
of Irish Presbyterians by Irish Prelatists.   He writes: " The
shadow which fell on Puritanism at the Restoration [of Charles
the Second] once more blighted the new [Irish] colonies.   Non-
conformity was still a stain for which no other excellence could
atone.   The persecutions were renewed, but did not cool Pres-
byterian loyalty.   When the native race made their last effort,
under James the Second, to recover their lands, the colonists of
Derry won immortal honour for themselves, and flung over the
wretched annals of their adopted country a solitary gleam of
true glory.   Even this passed for nothing.   They were still
Dissenters, still unconscious that they owed obedience to the
hybrid successors of St. Patrick, the prelates of the Establish-
ment ; and no sooner was peace re-established than spleen and
bigotry were again at their old work."—" English in Ireland,"
Vol. II.   This account seems at variance with Macaulay's state-
ment that " The few penal laws against Irish Nonconformists
were a dead letter."—" History of England," Vol. II., chap. vi.

where their common political interests always reunited them.

While throughout Britain, and, indeed, Europe generally, religious differences chiefly interest students, clergy, or theologians, in Ireland they still rouse and animate young, vigorous, energetic men, inspiring them with unreasoning enmity, which often allures them from either business or pleasure. In Ulster especially, where the three Irish divisions are brought together, the civil wars of Cromwell and William the Third, and the deeds of supposed ancestors, are constantly recalled in political speeches, election addresses, often in sermons and newspaper articles, with energetic eloquence. The historical characters, Sir Phelim O'Neill, Oliver Cromwell, Sarsfield, James the Second, and William the Third—are recalled with eager interest, as representing the final struggles of the contending religions in Ireland. During, comparative peace and educational enlightenment, the thoughts and deeds of men exasperated by war are yet made examples for people possessing advantages unknown to their ancestors, whose inevitable ignorance is strangely preferred to the historical knowledge and intellectual development of their more fortunate de-

scendants. Thus Ireland's Christian denominations, even to this day, are often inspired with more dislike to "Papists" or "heretics" than to the most worthless in their own communions. Probably in no European country has the progress of time made less difference in popular ideas than in Ireland. Among its religious divisions are still heard opinions and language about each other worthy of the Middle Ages, when Europe was in the midst of religious controversy. With them the old civil wars retain the vivid interest of events they remember or hear from witnesses sharing in the triumph of victory or exasperation of defeat. Doubtless, many preachers and politicians never wish to inspire this intolerance, but such is the excitable nature of the Irish about religion and politics, that the more violent a speaker or preacher is, the more popular he becomes, for the very cause which might be reasonably hoped would render him otherwise. On the other hand, either clergymen or politicians who mention or view opponents with charity and consideration are too often despised for supposed want of spirit, instead of being respected for displaying the one most consistent with Christianity.

CHAPTER VII.

THE leaders of the 1798 revolt were the first Irishmen who tried to inspire American principles among fellow-countrymen, although the new aggressive French republic was their chief model. French enmity to England was far greater than that of the United States against the mother country. The Americans, while proud of their independence, felt much in common with British ancestry. A common language and origin, besides many common interests, always preserved feelings more or less friendly between the British and American governments ever since their final contest.

The '98 revolutionists comprised the three Irish religions, the majority being Catholic, while the chief leaders were Prelatists and Presbyterians.* This rebellion, according to

* " It has indeed always been a matter of indifference to the Catholic peasantry whether they were led by Protestants or Catholics."—Rosebery's " Life of Pitt."

the plan of its leaders, was entirely political, and, therefore, called the United Irish movement ; but among so religious a people as the Irish it was never understood in the same sense. While its promoters exhorted and wrote about new political ideas, most of their followers longed to restore exclusively the Roman Catholic faith, which their leaders' favourite example, the French republic, wished to abolish altogether. The new French government was the model of the United Irish leaders, but its principles were utterly fatal to the wishes of the Irish Catholics forming the rebel majority. Their chiefs, of whom Wolfe Tone was the most eminent, detested clerical influence, and though, perhaps, not atheists, opposed all established Churches. These men, however, being mostly arrested before the outbreak, retained little influence over the insurgents. Tone's character and career are instructive, even to Irishmen of the present day, as he was the prime mover and original founder of the United Irish society ; but he only represented the principles of its leaders. Between them and the disaffected majority there was a vast difference. Tone was utterly unlike devout Irish Catholics, or strict, conscientious Irish Prot-

estants; yet he possessed rare qualities, which, for a time, gave him some influence over both. His courage, resolution, perseverance, or thorough-going disposition, to use a common phrase in Ireland, were admired more or less by all Irish divisions, with whom these qualities are almost essential to popularity. He also possessed a gaiety of heart, a force of animal spirits, with a constant liveliness and intense love of excitement. When he mingled these qualities with determined, even fiery resolution, Tone resembled an Irishman and an Irish youth combined. In one very essential point, however, he was a thorough contrast to most Irishmen: he had little reverence for religion of any kind. It is possible that, had he lived longer, he might have changed, and his energetic spirit have become religious with advancing age. But in his fatal career Tone's ambition was entirely worldly.*

* " His judgment of men and things was keen, lucid, and masculine, and he was alike prompt in decision and brave in action. Coming to France without any advantage of birth, property, position or antecedents, and without even a knowledge of the language, he gained a real influence over French councils. Of the Irish Catholics Tone knew little, but he believed their religious prejudices had disappeared, that they would follow the lead of the intelligent Presbyterians of the North, and that they were burning to throw off the government of England. He lived to see all his illusions dispelled."—Lecky's " Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," Vol. V., chap. vi.

He rather resembled some of Lever's Irish characters, being eager and impetuous, yet wonderfully observant of all around him. He constantly mingled mere trifles with important subjects; sometimes expressing his thoughts like a statesman, and then changing to a drunken, reckless boaster. Yet, amid all his fancies and levity, he kept his restless eye steadily upon Ireland. He never lost sight of his dangerous project of severing her by revolution from British rule, with the aid of the French republic. His rage against all Irishmen who, opposed his own views was, perhaps, the worst feature in his otherwise not unamiable disposition. His strange diary, published after his death, reveals his extraordinary character better than any other description. He lived much in Paris before the '98 revolt, chafing and fretting about the delayed French invasion of Ireland, in which he, with other Irish leaders, was to join. At one moment he eagerly enjoys the gay pleasures of Paris, while alternately blaming and praising the French republican officers, whom he constantly urged to invade Ireland. He often describes his own drunkenness without shame, but over all the changes and freaks of his restless mind

revolutionary designs always predominate.* His diary resembles more the writing of a sensational novelist than the journal of a man of genius, possessing considerable knowledge of human nature. Yet this knowledge was only keen observation of men immediately around him, whom he describes with amusing intelligence. Of the Irish people, especially the Catholics,

* "I am to get my order for three months' pay to-morrow. Called on the American Consul, who gave me £50. I am now ready to march. I see the Orange boys are playing the devil in Ireland. I have no doubt it is the work of the Government. Please God, if I get safe into that country, I will settle those gentlemen and their instigators. Met General Hoche, who took me in his carriage to General Cherin, with whom I am to travel. I told Hoche that I hoped the glory was reserved for him to amputate the right hand of England for ever, and I mentioned the immense resources in all respects, especially in men and provisions, which Ireland furnished to that country, and of which I trusted we were now on the eve of depriving her. Saw Cherin this morning. He tells me it may be ten days before we get off. Hell! Hell! Hell! How shall I get over these infernal delays? Put on my regimentals for the first time; as pleased as a little boy in his first breeches; foolish enough, but not unpleasant; walked about Paris to show myself. Huzza! Citizen Wolfe Tone, Chef de Brigade in the service of the Republic! Opera in the evening. Madame Guenet a charming singer. Madame Gardel and Nindon in the *pas Russe* inimitable. It is worth a voyage from Ireland to America, and from America to Paris, to see that single dance. I think now I have got on my regimentals I begin to write like a very pretty gentleman. John Bull is not all beaten into his senses yet. What an execrable nation that is, and how cordially I hate them. If our expedition succeeds, I think we will give her the *coup de grace*. Oh! that I were this fine morning at the head of my regiment on the Cave Hill [near Belfast]. It is seven days at least to our departure. D—n it for me."—"Life of Tone," Vol. II., pp. 172-73.

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both his conduct and language betray not only
ignorance, but misconception.   Devoted to the
French infidel republic, which he served as a
subject, he apparently thought its principles, as
as well as rule, would be accepted by the Irish
Catholic majority.   He exulted in the banish-
ment of the Pope from Rome by his chosen
masters, the French republicans, and joyfully
predicted the speedy downfall of the Catholic
faith.   He evidently expected that his Catholic
fellow-countrymen would sooner or later share
his feelings, which he freely expressed in his
diary while associating with the chief enemies
of Roman Catholicism in France.

During this short revolution the non-Catholic
rebels were more impressed with the republican
ideas of their leaders than the Catholics.   The
philosophical theories, eloquence and daring of
Tone, the Emmets, and Lord Edward Fitz-
gerald, represented no religious element ; they
neither advocated nor recalled any religious
triumph.   Their French republican allies were
as much mistaken in the Irish people as their
own chief leaders.   The changes in French
thought and history between the seventeenth
and eighteenth centuries were to most of the

Irish quite incomprehensible.* Though less under Papal control than Spain and Austria, yet France, while under a monarchy, always called herself the champion of the Papacy. When James the Second, a deposed Catholic king, sought aid against rebellious Protestant subjects, he became immediately an object of religious sympathy to the French nation. In '98 this feeling was not only changed, but reversed. The Catholic faith was publicly abolished, and with its nominal abolition all religious worship was abolished also. No preference for any form of Protestantism or Deism actuated the French Jacobin republic. Utter Atheism, bold, defiant, and persecuting, supplanted the sneering insinuations of Voltaire and others, who usually advocated the humane principles while ridiculing the profession of Christianity.† This republic recognised in Tone

* "The soldiers of the [French] Revolution, whom the panic-stricken priests in other lands had long regarded as the most ferocious and most terrible of the agents of Anti-Christ, now found themselves to their own astonishment and amusement suddenly transfigured into Crusaders, surrounded by eager peasants who declared that they were come to take arms for France and the Blessed Virgin; and old soldiers of the Italian army exclaimed with no small disgust that, having just driven the Pope out of Italy, they had never expected to meet him again in Ireland."—Lecky's "Ireland," Vol. V., chap. xi.

† See Macaulay's "Essay on Ranke's History."

and other Irish leaders ardent political allies,
not, perhaps, agreeing with all its ideas, but
animated with hatred to all monarchy, which,
in England's case, was specially odious to the
French, from historical enmity.

The Irish Catholic clergy perceived that their
people must choose between joining an athe-
istical republic in open rebellion or a Protestant
government, which, though unjust in their
opinion, no longer aimed at the destruction of
their religion. They knew that the conduct
of French allies in banishing the Pope and
abolishing religion in France was far more
dangerous to their cause than either the con-
tinuance of British rule or of the bitter insults
constantly exchanged between them and Prot-
estant fellow-countrymen. For such intoler-
ance, though odious, indeed, to the sensitive,
the conscientious, and the thoughtful, rather
strengthened than diminished religious enthu-
siasm. It aided to preserve from generation to
generation the divided Irish from any tendency
to conversion. It maintained with strict, zealous
exactness the lines of doctrinal demarcation by
appealing to pride as well as conscience in re-
calling the glories or sufferings of ancestral civil

war. A general but wrong impression prevailed in Britain that the '98 revolt was a Catholic rising suppressed by loyal Irish Protestants, assisted by British troops. It was really a republican movement, headed by men who disliked the Catholic probably more than any other form of Christianity, but mostly supported by ignorant Catholic peasants having no real sympathy with the political views of their leaders.* A few years after its suppression, the parliamentary Union of Great Britain and Ireland induced many loyalists in the three countries to expect that Ireland, like Scotland a century before, would become really as well as nominally, united to England. Yet these unions of 1700 and 1800 occurred under such different circumstances that like results could not be reasonably anticipated.† In England and Scotland, James the First had no rival, while republican opposition was then unknown.

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* See Gordon, Madden, Maxwell, and Harwood's "Histories"; also, Tone's "Memoirs," and Moore's "Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald."

† "It is easy, on the brink of the twentieth century, to censure much in the eighteenth, but is it candid to do so without placing oneself as far as possible in the atmosphere, circumstances, and conditions of the period we are considering?" —Rosebery's "Life of Pitt," chap. xi.

Although great enmity existed between the Prelatist and Presbyterian majorities in Great Britain, they were equally loyal to the same king, and alike opposed to Roman Catholicism. In Ireland the year of its Union found Irish Protestants accusing Catholic fellow-countrymen of implacable hostility to Britain, of which they believed the '98 revolt was a recent proof. On the other hand, Irish Catholics complained of the constant injustice of the Protestants, and actually favoured union with Britain, hoping that from British legislators they might get better treatment than from the triumphant minority of Irish Protestants, who alone composed the Irish Parliament.* A long period had elapsed since Roman Catholics opposed Protestants in Britain. The last Jacobite revolt in 1745 was not a Catholic movement exclusively, though its triumph would certainly have favoured that Church. It was headed chiefly by Prelatist nobles and gentry throughout Britain ; even some Protestant clergymen favoured it, owing to their strict ideas of political loyalty. Since its suppression the British public became more tolerant towards Catholi-

* See Ingram's " History of the Legislative Union."

cism, perhaps chiefly owing to its political weakness. The London " No Popery " riots in 1780 checked with great severity, if not cruelty, by a Protestant government, proved that British rulers, no longer apprehending Catholic revolt, were, therefore, inclined to treat Catholic subjects with more justice, if not favour, than before.* But in Ireland religious animosities at the time of the Union were nearly as general, though not as violent, as in the days of James the Second. The Irish Catholic prelates, therefore, desired the Union, and the measure was passed without opposition from their people, who, like Irish Protestants, often appealed to the British public in complaints of each other.†

* See Mr. Charles Dickens's remarks on these riots in his historical novel "Barnaby Rudge."

† "The Irish Catholic Bishops have been so useful to the British Government ever since the Union that it was not safe to make enemies of them."—John Mitchel's " History of Ireland," p. 249.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ignorance or misrepresentation of history which Mr. Lecky declares so prevalent in Ireland, naturally causes misleading comparisons in the estimation both of its events and characters.* For instance, it has been said in Ireland that General Sarsfield and Wolfe Tone alike desired to promote Irish *liberty*. This idea is at once dispelled by history, but without its impartial study it may easily obtain credit. In reality perhaps no two men could be more opposed in principle, design, or motive. Sarsfield, the firm, loyal, general of James the Second, much resembled his co-temporary, Claverhouse Lord Dundee, in political desires and military action, perhaps in personal character. Each attempted to restore the rule of James, the one

* See " England in the Eighteenth Century," Vol. II.

in Scotland, the other in Ireland, by forcibly quelling the insurrection against their master in both countries. The very idea of popular liberty involving the moral right to resist an established monarchy was equally hateful to both these generals. They were alike trusted and honoured by their despotic master, and the dread and terror of every revolutionist in the three kingdoms. The very name of rebellion was abhorrent to each. To suppress the same revolt against the same gracious sovereign, or odious tyrant, as James was severally termed, they devoted their lives. The principle of the Divine Right of kings found in them able, practical, and gallant champions. By them William Prince of Orange was considered a foreign usurper, leading rebellious fellow-countrymen against the Lord's Anointed. But though the revolution was in their eyes utterly unjustifiable, yet the destruction of the monarchy, by substituting a republic, would logically have appeared more sinful. Yet such was Wolfe Tone's avowed hope and design, whom Sarsfield and Claverhouse would doubtless have executed with as little legal delay as possible, had he lived in their times.

It may reasonably be concluded from history

that had Tone lived in the reign of James the
Second, his sympathies would have been with
William of Orange.   He might indeed have pre-
ferred a republic to William, but the principle
which would have made him prefer it would have
made him infinitely prefer William to James.
His enmity to Roman Catholicism, proved in
his diary, published after his death, reveals the
destructive hatred of an utter sceptic, not the
discriminating, or reasoning objections of a Prot-
estant.   His idea that the Papacy was *always*
a fraudulent imposition on European belief ex-
ceeds all Protestant aversion to it.*   For all
Protestant denominations respect the historical
Papacy until its alleged violation of pure Chris-
tian doctrine, caused the Reformation in some
countries under its spiritual sway, but which left
most of them as much under its control as ever.
But to men like Tone the Institution could seem
nothing less than a fraud or imposture from the
first. Accordingly his republican friends attemp-

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* Alluding to the treatment of the Pope by the French re-
publicans, Tone wrote : "I am heartily glad that old priest
is at last laid under contribution in his turn.   Many a long
century he and his predecessors have been fleecing all Europe,
but the day of retribution is come at last, and besides I am strongly
tempted to hope that this is but the beginning of his sorrows."—
Tone's "Memoirs," Vol. I.

ted to overthrow the Papacy in Italy without much idea of consulting the wishes of the Italian nation. The French republic, which Tone enthusiastically obeyed and admired, had little idea of being guided by the popular will anywhere, except when it agreed with its own principles. He and his French republican allies whom he made his masters, and wished to make rulers of Ireland, saw nothing in the Papacy or in Roman Catholicism but what should be destroyed. Yet while thus secretly thinking and writing, Tone actually possessed the ignorant confidence of the Irish Catholic masses, hoping to avail themselves of his republican hatred to monarchical England, to be freed from it by a French invasion. Tone, with mingled craft and energy, the former revealed in his ascendency over Irish Catholics, the latter, shown by his influence with the French republic, was certainly the leader, framer, and chief promoter of the '98 rebellion. The success with which so reckless a sceptic, if not utter infidel, deceived thousands of devout Irish Catholics, and the popularity which his name still retains among their descendants is a decisive proof of ignorance among many shrewd, intelligent Irishmen about European

history.*   Tone's hatred to the British monarchy
was evidently their chief, if not only, bond of
union, the one fellow-feeling, or common senti-
ment connecting such a man with the Irish
Catholic population.   But this alliance, though
preserving Tone's influence 'uring life, and
popularity after it, was mainly caused by the
ignorance of the Irish, not only of their leaders'
real views, but of the political and religious state
of Europe.   They thought their version of Chris-
tianity had no worse foes than British rulers, or
Protestant fellow-countrymen.   But the Head
of their Church knew very differently.   To him all
European Protestant monarchies, without excep-
tion, though heretical, were politically friendly,
and even spiritually might become more and
more reconciled through the medium of peaceful
intercourse and increasing communication.   But
in Tone's model of perfection, the French infidel
republic, Roman Catholicism found an enemy
more destructive and morally more inexcusable
than the extinct Paganism of ancient Rome.   No

* Tone urged that republicanism must finally subvert mon-
archy, "as the Mosaic law subverted idolatry, as Christianity
the Jewish dispensation, as the Reformation subverted Popery."
—Extract from Tone's "Memoirs," quoted in Lecky's "History
of Ireland," Vol. III., chap. viii.

reconciliation, no peace, no confidence, nothing but the most thorough enmity could ever exist between the real principles of Tone and Roman Catholicism. Yet owing to historical ignorance, perhaps unequalled in Europe, Tone's memory is still honoured by many devout Irish Catholics, whose faith he not only detested, but secretly wished to eradicate. Their alliance was evidently alone caused by their one feeling in common of hatred to the British monarchy. This sentiment, in its strange, and even contradictory effects in Ireland, deserves careful examination. That it originally arose from historic traditions of national conquest united with subsequent religious differences is certain. But it is singularly contradicted by the practical loyalty with which Irish Catholic soldiers, sailors, and police, as well as judges and magistrates, help to maintain the power, influence, and interests of the British Protestant monarchy. Irish Catholics may, without clerical discouragement, highly distinguish themselves in supporting British rule, and yet often hear it abused or censured with the utmost vehemence by their fellow-Catholics, both clergy and laity. Their language, indeed, so irritates and alarms Protestant fellow-subjects, that some

of the latter, despite opposing evidence, believe themselves right in declaring that all Irish Catholics are really foes to British authority. Thus Ireland, even towards the close of the nineteenth century, presents a curious and confused picture much resembling its mediæval history in religious prejudices. These ideas, despite the secular spirit of the age in Europe and America, still surprise politicians, excite theologians, and are the real foundations of Irish popular feeling and policy to the present day.

CHAPTER IX.

SOME years after the Union the European wars of Napoleon the First produced a remarkable effect in Ireland. Napoleon, though a nominal Catholic, quarrelled with the Papacy, and roused Catholic as well as Protestant nations against him. Without favouring Protestantism, or indicating any intention of leaving the Romish Church, he grievously offended the Pope by supplanting the strictly Catholic French monarchy, whose rights he claimed or usurped for himself and his descendants. The deposed royal family was the historical foe of England, and especially of English Protestantism. Yet, now England opposed Napoleon in behalf of this same family, allied with the Catholic and Protestant monarchies of Europe. This alliance was highly favoured by the Papacy. Napoleon was finally overcome by this combination, but the general who chiefly

caused his defeat was an Irish Protestant. The divided people of Ireland viewed the Duke of Wellington with different feelings. Among the Protestants, who completely identified themselves with England, the Waterloo victory was thought a glorious triumph over historical enemies. Among many Irish Catholics the French, who, except their clergy, were mostly devoted to Napoleon, were sympathised with, owing to the historical anti-English alliance between them. The Irish priests, however, in common with all the Catholic clergy in Europe, rejoiced at Napoleon's defeat, and the consequent restoration of the old French monarchy. All British Roman Catholics were delighted at Napoleon's fall, and thoroughly loyal to their Protestant government. From this time the French royal family, Ireland's historical ally against England, owing its restoration chiefly to the latter, no longer encouraged Irish revolution.

In Great Britain tolerant principles became so prevalent after the battle of Waterloo, perhaps owing to foreign intercourse, influence, and alliances, that Roman Catholics were admitted to the united Parliament, and were mostly returned

from Ireland.* These Irish Catholic members
soon increased in numbers and influence. Their
ablest specimen, Daniel O'Connell, for the first
time probably since the fall of James the Second,
showed the British public an Irish Catholic both
loyal to England, yet immensely popular among
Catholic fellow-countrymen. He was conse-
quently distrusted and even feared by many loyal
Irish Protestants.† O'Connell, who understood
Irishmen far better than the fanciful '98 leaders
did, well knew intemperance was their special
curse and misfortune. Indeed the importance,
influence, and prevalence of drunkenness in Irish
life and character are only known to residents in

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* Mr. Canning, in supporting Catholic emancipation, allud-
ing to the European alliance against Napoleon, said: "We
are in the enjoyment of a peace achieved in a great degree by
Catholic arms, and cemented by Catholic blood." Again,
alluding to the recent coronation of George the Fourth, he ex-
claimed : "Do you imagine it never occurred to the represen-
tatives of Europe that, contemplating this imposing spectacle,
it never occurred to the ambassadors of Catholic Austria, of
Catholic France, or of states more bigoted, if any such be to the
Catholic religion, to reflect that the moment this solemn cere-
mony was over the Duke of Norfolk [chief Catholic English
peer and premier duke] would become deprived of the exercise
of his privileges among his fellow-peers, stripped of his robes of
office, which were to be laid aside and hung up until the distant
(be it a very distant !) day when the coronation of a successor
to his present and gracious sovereign should again call him forth
to assist at a similar solemnisation."—Alison's "History of
Europe," Vol. II., chap. x.
† See Lecky's "Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland."

Ireland. Instead of being confined, as in most countries, to the thoughtless, the ignorant, or the unfortunate, it is in many places not only the chief pleasure, but the general custom. While some real friends to humanity oppose it by precept or example, a vast number, including, strange to say, people of intelligence, education, and easy circumstances, indulge in it habitually without shame or scruple. Alike on merry or sad occasions, at pleasure parties, excursions, bargains, social meetings, even at funerals, this degrading vice is both common and popular. It seems, indeed, to accommodate itself to almost every circumstance, as well as class, in Irish life. It rouses anger, yet reconciles foes, it rewards success, and consoles failure. Its frequency, therefore, may be imagined, even by those whose happier experiences afford no personal information. Another feature, especially in Irish drunkenness, is that few are the least ashamed of it, either in themselves or others, while habitual sobriety is often attributed to mere selfishness. O'Connell, therefore, availed himself of the excellent Father Mathew's great but short-lived influence in promoting sobriety.* In a spirit

* " O'Connell immediately saw what a strength such a move ment would have if it were incorporated with his own movemen

different, indeed, from the drunken frenzies of
· Tone, as revealed in his extraordinary journal,*
the fanciful eloquence of Robert Emmet, or the
reckless daring of Lord Edward Fitzgerald,
these two practical Irishmen, lay and clerical,
laboured in concert to improve their fellow-
countrymen both in common sense and Chris-
tian duty. Their joint success was brilliant and
unprecedented, but of short duration.

Probably no Irish layman except Mr. Parnell
has had as much influence among Irish Catholics
as Wolfe Tone and Daniel O'Connell possessed
for a short time. Yet they were utterly different
men. In Paris, Tone evidently pleased or in-
terested his French allies, and had a singular,
almost fantastic, influence over some enthusi-
astic Irishmen of education, both Protestant and
Catholic. But he never really guided or even
understood the Irish Catholic peasantry. This
was the class which O'Connell chiefly influenced,

and he immediately gave all the support of his great authority
and of his great name to the crusade. He praised it enthusiasti-
cally ; he influenced many of his followers to join it, and he always
spoke with the greatest pride of his noble army of teetotallers.
Father Mathew himself was not an active politician. But he
could not afford to decline the enormous assistance to the tem-
perance movement which O'Connell's support and O'Connell's
encouragement gave."—Justin M'Carthy's "Ireland since the
Union," p. 113.
* See "Memoirs of Wolfe Tone."

or rather governed, with astonishing success, without either legal authority or foreign assistance.* He was, indeed, in character, as in ability, well fitted to be their leader and representative. His desire, unlike Tone, was not to introduce foreign habits, but to improve Irish ones. Tone longed to transform Ireland into a second French republic. O'Connell wished it to be made free and enlightened, but to remain not only chiefly Roman Catholic but loyal to the British sovereign. Tone failed completely. O'Connell partially succeeded, but his success was not permanent. He had no successor or even adherent worthy of him to agitate, yet control ; to rouse people into great excitement, and yet induce them to obey British rule. His occasional violent language, yet thorough self-command, were among his most remarkable qualities. His terming the '98 leaders, Fitzgerald, Tone, and Emmet, "a gang of scoundrels," proved how freely he abused those he disapproved of, without caring about the ex-

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* " O'Connell had great allies—with him were exaltations, agonies, and love, and man's unconquerable mind. The sympathies of the people, newly awakened to a sense of their power, were with him."—M'Carthy's " Ireland since the Union," p. 16

pressions he used to denounce them.* The
most eager loyalists never considered these men
rascals, but O'Connell, believing they had done
more harm than good to Ireland, evidently
wished to extinguish any lingering admiration,
or even interest, that attached to their memory.
But his vehemence, instead of being a weakness,
was one of his weapons, used only when required.
Had he been always cool, composed, and cautious,
he would at this time hardly have ruled the ex-
citable Irish, who rather liked seeing their leader
in occasional boisterous wrath, so usual among
themselves, as it seemed to them an additional
proof of sincerity.† Yet he knew his own charac-
ter and theirs so well that he was really master
of the very passions to which he seemed to
yield. He could thus be coarse and violent,
quiet and pacific, whenever he chose, and so,
without being really insincere, he appeared a very
different man to different people.‡ O'Connell
gradually became more and more popular in
England, to the indignant alarm of many loyal

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* See M'Carthy's "Ireland Since the Union," p. 87.

† "Those who assailed him he could assail again; those who
abused him he could abuse yet more roundly."—M'Carthy's
"Ireland since the Union," p. 96.

‡ See Lecky's "Leaders of Public Opinion."

Irish Protestants. During his last illness the
Queen sent to enquire after him, and many
British statesmen of all parties had a sincere
regard for him.* His Irish career was extra-
ordinary. He had to contend somewhat like
Cromwell in England with influential oppo-
nents, and · yet to restrain with nearly equal
energy the imprudent vehemence of his fol-
lowers.† In Ireland the two parties who in
different ways gave him most trouble were the
Orange and the Ribbon Societies, the former
exclusively Protestant, the latter exclusively
Catholic. Among these opposing factions were
enlisted a large amount of the youthful vigour,
courage,and enterprise of the divided population.‡

As a rule, the greater part of Ireland is nomi-
nally owned by Protestants and occupied by
Roman Catholics. In Ulster, where Protestant
tenants are far more numerous than in any other

* Ibid.
† "His policy was to maintain in Ireland a state of things
which was neither peace nor war, though rousing the [Irish
Catholic] people to the utmost pitch of excitement, the dominant
anxiety of his soul was to keep them out of the meshes of the
law to avert collision, so that he, their leader, might fight the
law within the law."—Sullivan's "New Ireland," Vol. I., p. 61.
‡ See Mr. Stuart Trench's spirited description of the Ribbon
Society, from which he himself narrowly escaped, in his "Reali-
ties of Irish Life."

part of Ireland, they dwell among Roman Catholics, and though mutually distrustful, agree with them in opposing high rents, yet are generally averse to secret combination with Catholic tenants, having many interests in common with Protestant landowners. In the middle and south of Ireland there have always been more Catholic landlords than in the north. They usually sympathise with Protestant fellow-landlords in opposing sedition among Catholic tenants, while sympathising with the latter in religious principle. This class, however, was always too small and unfriended to have much influence on the Irish community. Protestants, mostly Prelatists, therefore, usually represent landowners, and Roman Catholics land occupiers. Thus Irish non-Catholic tenants are generally allied with Protestant landlords, owing to historical enmity to Catholicism alienating them from their fellow-occupiers. Yet it has sometimes happened that in the eager competition for land purchase, so usual till lately in Ireland, needy or rapacious landlords have substituted richer Catholic tenants for poor Protestant ones.*

* " The Catholics and the Presbyterians in the north had long confronted each other as two distinct and dissimilar nations,

This course, however, has been rare and exceptional. It was usually the interest, or thought to be so, of Protestant landowners to substitute Protestant for Catholic tenants, thus replacing hereditary foes by hereditary allies in religion and politics. Of course, in such changes acts of injustice and cruelty on the one side, and deceit and ferocity on the other, produced their dangerous results throughout the land.*

During many years Ireland was distracted by mutual outrages committed by Catholic and Protestant peasantry, styling themselves Whiteboys, Peep-o'-day Boys, Defenders, &c.† Each party, of course, blamed the other exclusively, the truth, probably, being that in the general

and the low standard of comfort which accompanied the inferior civilisation of the Catholics, enabling them to offer higher rents than the Protestants, gave them an advantage in the competition for farms."—Lecky's "Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," Vol. III., chap. viii.

* "Between eviction and emigration it is estimated that almost a million of people left Ireland between '49 and '57. At that time the Ribbon organisation flourished. For more than half a century the Ribbon Society has existed in Ireland. Its aims seem chiefly to have been to defend the land serf from the landlord."—M'Carthy's "Ireland since the Union," chap. xiii.

† "The Peep-o'-Day Boys [Prelatists and Presbyterians] sprang up in the County Armagh. They were so called because they visited the houses of their victims early in the morning in search of arms. The Defenders were Romanists, who committed outrages in retaliation."—Reid's "Presbyterian Church in Ireland," Vol. III.

exasperation crimes were committed by both parties under pretence of reprisals. These factions in the present century merged into Ribbonmen on the Catholic side, who were apparently organised chiefly to resist the rights of landowners.* Although the Catholic clergy always denounced this society, they were placed in a difficult position in dealing with it. The Ribbonmen were not only exclusively Catholic, but had some objects in common with all Catholics, by resisting Protestant supremacy. It was, therefore, the unscrupulous means they adopted, deliberate murder, cattle maiming, house burning, &c., besides their dangerous and criminal secrecy, which their clergy were forced to condemn.

* " Throughout the half century extending from 1820 to 1870 a secret oath-bound agrarian confederation, known as the Ribbon Society, was the constant affliction and recurring terror of the landed classes in Ireland. In Ulster it professed to be a defensive retaliating league against Orangeism. Although from the first appearance of Ribbonism the Catholic clergy waged a determined war upon it, denouncing it from the altar, and going so far as to refuse the sacrament to its adherents, the society was exclusively Catholic. Under no circumstances would a Protestant be admitted."—Sullivan's " New Ireland," Vol. I.

CHAPTER X.

AMONG a population so divided, opposed, and grievously prejudiced, Daniel O'Connell occupied a remarkable position.* His influence was so great among Irish Catholics that nearly all of them adopted his views, while most Irish Protestants heartily opposed him; they suspected that his great object, the Repeal of the legislative Union, could only result in injury, if not ruin, to their interests. Among them the Orangemen were the most active, vigilant, and demonstrative. Their association, named after William the Third's Dutch title, called him their special champion, hero, and model. Although always opposing the Ribbonmen, they resembled them in sectarian exclusiveness, but were essen-

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* " The tone of plaintive apology which had been so familiar in the mouths of some advocates of the Catholic cause was never used by O'Connell. From the first he held his head high and cared for no man. From the first he adopted an attitude of defiance, and a tone of even aggressive scorn of his opponents."— M'Carthy's " Ireland since the Union," p. 87.

tially different in moral and political principle.*
While some Protestants discouraged them, think-
ing that they rather preserved old animosities
by returning evil for evil, there were always
some among them who, unlike the Ribbonmen,
laboured to keep their brethren within the bounds
of moderation. Some Prelatist and Presbyterian
clergymen also joined or favoured this society,
but the Ribbonmen were utterly denounced by
their clergy, and, therefore, few respectable
Catholics, except, perhaps, some ignorant, ex-
citable young men, were to be found among
them. Thus this condemned yet extensive
association presented the strange spectacle of
a society rigidly excluding members of every
other Church except that which expressly de-
nounced it. Of course a society like the Orange-
men, often commended and sometimes joined
by their clergy, was infinitely superior, socially
and morally, even in the estimation of candid
opponents, to a nominally Catholic league con-
demned by the respectable members of its own
Church. These societies were in Ulster con-
stantly opposed, yet probably from their like
sectarian exclusiveness, they indirectly and most

* See Lilburn's " History of Orangeism."

unwillingly strengthened each other. The desperate language and equally desperate crimes which disgraced the Ribbonmen, doubtless inclined many young Protestants to join the Orangemen as being a brave, well-armed, and strictly Protestant association, bound to support the established Government and religion.*

While, however, the zealous energy of the Orangemen often checked or avenged Ribbon outrages, they sometimes by ignorant denunciations of Roman Catholicism, which some of them judged by the very specimens it condemned, thus prevented alliance with respectable Catholics, who had to endure insult alike from avowed opponents and disreputable co-religionists. The priesthood, therefore, found it the more difficult to restrain impetuous young Catholics from joining the Ribbonmen, partly owing to the abusive language about their religion, and especially about the Pope, no matter who he was, often uttered by some vehement Orangemen. In fact, the moderate and charit-

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* "Finding themselves in a small minority amidst a mass of hostile Roman Catholics, the Protestants in self-defence organised themselves in an opposite association, which, under the name of Orange Lodges, had in like manner secret signs, obeyed unknown authority, and too often engaged in revengeful and bloody deeds."—Alison's "History of Europe," chap. xx.

able of all parties in Ireland are seldom popular. They usually find themselves despised, even distrusted, by partisans as well as opponents, who often believe them either deceitful or cowardly. This general contempt for moderation in conduct or sentiment is certainly one of the moral misfortunes of Ireland. The Orangemen, chiefly composed of Prelatists, from their speeches and conduct apparently wish to live in the past, and recall with pride the feelings existing at the time of the Boyne battle.*

They still hear ignorant, violent Catholics abuse Protestantism with undiminished enmity, and some of them judge all Roman Catholics by the worst specimens in their own neighbourhoods. These doctrinal and historical feuds continue in some parts of Ireland almost unabated, owing to their popularity among the fiery or energetic of both parties. In Great

* "At first Orangeism was simply a form of outrage—the Protestant side of a faction fight which had long been raging in certain counties of the north. The society as organised by the country gentlemen emphatically disclaimed all sympathy with outrage and all desire to persecute. It was to be a loyal society for the defence of Ulster and the kingdom against the United Irishmen and against the French, and also for maintaining the Constitution on an exclusively Protestant basis, but it included in its ranks all the most intolerant and fanatical Protestantism in the province."—Lecky's "Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," Vol. IV., chap. ix.

Britain, public opinion is naturally greatly in-
fluenced by the course of European history.
British Catholics and Protestants, especially
since Napoleon's defeat by a European com-
bination, have regarded each other with in-
creasing goodwill, which has never diminished.
They unite in thorough loyalty to the established
monarchy. The former cruelties and wrongs of
the Catholics have gradually ceased to arouse
either apprehension or bitterness among the
existing community. Scott's historical novels
describing the last wars of the deposed Stuarts
made, or assisted to make, the very impression
on the British public which their truly patriotic
author desired. " Let us hope," he wrote,* "that
we shall never see the scenes or hold the senti-
ments that were general in Britain sixty years
since." These earnest words Scott addressed
to British readers of all creeds and classes, who
generally agreed with them. In Ireland, unfor-
tunately, the sentiments, if not the scenes, of
yet more remote civil wars than Scott mentions,
remain almost as popular as ever. The lan-
guage of Irish politicians or historical writers,
even Moore's beautiful verses, inspire ideas the

* " Waverley," chap. lvii.

very reverse of Scott's. While recalling real or
supposed ancestral wrongs, they incite readers
to revenge rather than forgive historical injuries,
and to preserve unchanged and unchangeable
the national or religious animosities of centuries.

British readers, availing themselves of educa-
tional advantages, study their country's history
as well as those of others in a like impartial
spirit during a long national peace. The Irish
are always tempted by exciting appeals to
avenge alleged historical wrongs of previous
centuries, and never to forgive the supposed de-
scendants of enemies. It was, therefore, natural
that the great political act of Catholic Emanci-
pation (1829) produced a very different effect on
the British and on the Irish people. Among
the former the measure was generally thought a
proof of increasing mutual friendship between
the religious denominations of all British sub-
jects. In Ireland it was generally viewed with
triumph or deep regret, with eager expectation
of more concession by the Catholics, and with
distrustful apprehension by the Protestants.
Neither party, as a rule, apparently considered
it an act of political justice as much as a cause
of triumph or of humiliation. At this time

British Protestants were inclined to favour Irish Roman Catholics far more than their Protestant fellow-countrymen thought either just to themselves or safe for the country. Recollections of the '98 revolt, which at its close was fast becoming a religious war, and the yearly celebrations of the previous revolution of 1688, alike preserved the sectarian hatreds which had comparatively vanished from Great Britain. The British Catholics were as loyal to the monarchy as any other British subjects. But Irish Catholic and Protestant fellow-countrymen still viewed each other with a suspicious enmity which the tranquil British public could hardly understand. Thus, when the British Parliament made a grant to Maynooth College (1845) for educating Catholic priests, the measure, like its predecessor, Catholic Emancipation, alarmed most Irish Protestants. Legislation which British Protestants thought just, and not only safe but beneficial to the community, seemed to most of their Irish co-religionists unjust to themselves and dangerous to the empire. Even many Irish Catholics viewed these measures more as gratifying signs of Protestant weakness than merely as acts of political justice. In this idea they

were to some extent confirmed by the evident
apprehensions of Irish non-Catholics. In Ulster,
the Presbyterians made an indignant protest,
in which the liberal spirit they usually advocated
seemed overcome by those religious prejudices
for which their own history in Ireland had
certainly given some reason.* O'Connell, whose
persevering energy had done much to obtain
this measure, declined in health and even in
popularity after it was passed.† His exhorta-
tions to obey British rule were gradually less
regarded by his former admirers. A new race
of Irish politicians, Protestant and Catholic,
more resembling the '98 leaders, began to
speak, to write, and to declaim. Among these
were Messrs. Smith O'Brien, Thomas Meagher,
and John Mitchel—Prelatist, Catholic, and Uni-
tarian. These men, though differing slightly in
some political views, regarded British rule with
a hostility which O'Connell always discouraged.

* "The Irish Presbyterian Church is desirous that they [Irish
Roman Catholics] should enjoy every liberty which her own
members possess, but believing that Popery is most injurious to
the true interests with regard to time and eternity of all its ad-
herents, she protests against all endowment for the encourage-
ment of that system granted by a Protestant government."—
Protest of the Irish Presbyterian Assemby in Belfast.—Reid's
"History of the Presbyterian Church," Vol. III.
    † See Sullivan's "New Ireland."

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He, in common with most Catholic priests, had a horror of actual revolution. He detested the reviving republicanism which again threatened European governments, and especially the Catholic ones. He dreaded lest, as in '98, its spirit should be conveyed to Ireland under pretence of liberating her from British authority. He therefore, warmly, even bitterly, denounced the rising Young Irelanders, as they called themselves, who, in his last days, were beginning, as it were, to usurp his former influence over the Irish people.* But he had no longer the strength to oppose them. He left Ireland and died on his way to Rome, where he longed to see the venerable head of that Church to whose political interests in Ireland he had devoted the labours of his energetic life.†

* "O'Connell became aware that there was growing up around him a new generation who chafed under the benevolent despotism of his leadership, and who objected to his canon of implicit obedience unless they had first reasoned out the matter. He was now an old man, no longer the dashing young Kerry man of Emancipation days. He trembled for the possible indiscretions of these fiery orators and seditious patriotic poets, who were now rapidly infusing their bold spirit into the multitude." —Sullivan's " New Ireland," Vol. I.

† See M'Carthy's " Ireland since the Union.

CHAPTER XI.

AFTER O'Connell's death the revolutionary spirit, which he had opposed resolutely, increased in boldness, strength, and popularity. The French revolution in 1848, by substituting a republic in place of the deposed king Louis Philippe, caused the greatest excitement among Irish revolutionists. Smith O'Brien, the nominal leader of The Young Irelanders, for some time opposed actual rebellion. He differed from many of his impetuous followers. But, though firm, even to obstinacy, he was more influenced by his colleagues than the steady, self-reliant O'Connell ever was. He proceeded to Paris with Meagher and other leaders to congratulate the new republic and solicit its sympathy, if not aid, in behalf of Irish independence. The French president, M. Lamartine, was a man of peace and moderation. He, like

O'Connell, dreaded revolution in his own and every other country, and therefore gave his Irish visitors a most discouraging reception.* He was firmly resolved to oppose Irish disaffection towards England, which had cordially recognised the new French republic. Smith O'Brien before Lamartine presented a curious, interesting historical contrast to the Catholic Viceroy, Tyrconnel, before Louis XIV. in behalf of James the Second, and to Wolfe Tone a century later before General Hoche in behalf of an Irish republic. Yet all three petitioners solicited French aid against England in the name of Ireland. But now, for the first time in history, the French nation, through Lamartine, virtually exhorted the Irish to acknowledge British author-

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* " ' The French nation is proud of the many historical recollections which unite them with the Irish people, and it will be always ready to evince that feeling by acts. But as to other encouragements, it is not suitable *(convenable)* either for us to give or you to receive them. I have said this already in reference to Belgium, to Germany, to Italy. I repeat it with reference to every country which is engaged in disputes with its internal government. When one is not united by blood with a people it is not allowable to intervene in its affairs by the hand. We are at peace, and wish to remain so, with the whole kingdom of Great Britain, and not with a part of it only.' The Irish deputation withdrew violently chagrined at these words. In the evening, Smith O'Brien and his colleagues were loudly applauded at Blanqui's Club, the most violent in Paris, where the speech of Lamartine met with unqualified condemnation."— Alison's " History of Europe," Vol. VIII.

ity and expect no French assistance against it. The French Communists, however, headed by Blanqui and others, the avowed foes and secret dread of all Catholic clergy, from the Pope to the parish curate, highly disapproved of Lamartine's words. They showed the greatest sympathy for the cause of Irish revolution. But Lamartine's reply, evidently sanctioned by the French nation generally, gave thorough satisfaction in England. In the London comic prints he was drawn throwing, literal as well as metaphorical, cold water over the shrinking members of the Irish deputation. Yet, in spite of their disappointment, O'Brien and his friends could not bring themselves to any alliance with Blanqui, Proudhon, and the extreme or "red" republicans, who professed utter atheism. These '48 leaders were not only more religious than French sympathisers, but more than their rebel predecessors of '98. They had no idea of "overthrowing the altar with the throne," the favourite idea of many French republicans, with which Tone in his diary apparently agrees.

When O'Brien and his friends returned to Ireland the violence of their speeches and writings against the British government so in-

creased, that he, with Meagher and M'Manus,
were arrested, tried, convicted of high treason,
and condemned to death, but only transported.
Although O'Brien was called the head of the
"Young Ireland" party, its chief orator was
Thomas Meagher. This young man resembled
Robert Emmet in eloquence and Lord Edward
Fitzgerald in personal courage ; but the latter
quality he had no opportunity of displaying in
Ireland. His eloquence, however, like that of
M'Manus and others, which had so charmed
Irish audiences, was manifested to the general
public at their trials, and made some impression
even upon British readers.* Like their '98 pre-

* The Scottish historian, Alison, was evidently surprised at
their eloquent devotion to a cause practically unsupported by its
adherents. O'Brien said : "I have only done that which, in
my opinion, it was the duty of every Irishman to have done.
And I am now prepared to abide the consequences."—The
fervent Meagher exclaimed much in the style of Robert Emmet :
"With my country I leave my memory, my sentiments, my
acts, proudly feeling that they require no vindication from me
this day. On this spot, where the shadows of death surround
me, and from which I see my early grave in an unconsecrated
soil is ready to receive me, even here the hope which beckoned
me on to embark upon the perilous sea, upon which I have been
wrecked, still consoles, animates, enraptures me. To lift up
this isle, to make her a benefactor to humanity instead of
being what she is—the meanest beggar in the world—to restore
her ancient constitution and her native powers. This has been
my ambition, and this has been my crime. Judged thus, the
treason of which I have been convicted loses all guilt, has been
sanctified as a duty, and will be ennobled as a sacrifice." Alison

decessors, these Irish revolutionists appeared at their best during adversity. Like them also, they never had the chance of displaying personal bravery in Ireland. They were, therefore, naturally but erroneously despised by some as merely " men of words." Their easy arrests without any attempt at rescue or resistance, proved that their apparent, and, to some extent, real popularity, had aroused no vehement, devoted partisans.*

Mr. Mitchel, who was transported shortly before the other leaders, was in some respects a more determined man than any of them. As a writer, his violence, amounting to positive ferocity, enraged opponents, and shocked many partisans. His language revealed the fierce energy of Tone, without the same gaiety of

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observes : " These are noble words, which will speak to the hearts of the right-hearted and the generous of every future age. They only make us the more regret that men actuated by such elevated sentiments should be so far misled."—" History of Europe," Vol. VII.

* Evidently the '48 movement, as planned by Smith O'Brien, could not be popular with average revolutionists. " It afterwards appeared that any little chance of carrying on any manner of rebellion was put a stop to by Smith O'Brien's own resolution, that his rebels must not seize the private property of anyone. He insisted that his rebellion must pay its way, and the funds were soon out." — M'Carthy's " History of our own Times," Vol. II.

spirit. No levity, no freak of fancy, no boasting of drunkenness or wild admiration of French theatres, which make Tone's diary such a fantastic production, enlivened Mitchel's bitter compositions.* Whether as a journalist or historian, only hard, vehement earnestness, bitter invective, and vicious personal abuse of the Government officials, flowed from Mitchel's powerful pen. An eminent living Irish writer † remarks that in recent Irish revolts the leaders have been Protestants. Their language, especially Mitchel's, in reminding Irish Catholics of "Saxon" oppression, recall Macaulay's opinion of Walter Scott's political sympathies. The Liberal historian censures the Tory novelist for in sentiment taking the part of ancestral foes against his own ancestors.‡ The Irish Catholics had certainly suffered far more from the an-

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* "Mitchel was the one formidable man among the rebels of '48. He was the one man who distinctly knew what he wanted, and was prepared to run any risk to get it. He was cast in the very mould of a genuine revolutionist. He was a fanatic, clever and fearless ; he would neither have asked quarter nor given it." —M'Carthy's " History of our own Times," Vol. II.

† Mr. J. M'Carthy.

‡ "When Scott mentioned Killiecrankie he seemed utterly to forget that he was a Saxon. His heart swelled with triumph when he related how his own kindred had fled like hares before a small number of warriors of a different breed and of a different tongue."—"History of England," Vol. III.

cestry of non-Catholic fellow-countrymen than from the British monarchy, against which Irish Protestant leaders roused their fury by the most frantic language. Mitchel especially thought, spoke, and wrote like an Irish chief mortally injured by English rule, whereas, but for it neither his religion nor race would probably have survived in Ireland. Of all the '48 leaders none used such outrageous language as John Mitchel. Yet his style was attractive and original, owing to its eloquent, fiery earnestness. His intense energy of thought and feeling, his utter fearlessness of the powerful government against which he waged a paper war with a savage hatred unworthy of civilisation, made him the most dangerous of the '48 leaders.* In a London comic paper he was represented as a tiny monkey challenging the comtemptuous looking British lion to mortal combat, and exclaiming, " One of us must be put down ! " Yet he was evidently more daring in behalf of the

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* " The stern Unitarian Ulsterman soon developed a decided bent in favour of what half a century before would be called French principles.' He was republican and revolutionary. John Mitchel declared that Constitutionalism was demoralising the country. By blood and iron alone could Ireland be saved." Sullivan's " New Ireland," Vol. I.

Irish people than any of them were for him.
He, with the other '48 chiefs, some personally
brave, and mostly men of talent and attractive
eloquence, were as easily arrested as a few pick-
pockets, without a blow struck or shot fired in
their defence. No rescue either was attemp-
ted in their behalf. At their trials they were
loudly cheered by excited mobs, and warmly
praised in some local papers, but no one ven-
tured life or limb for them. They were publicly
sympathised with and publicly punished, but
the idea of rescue or defence seems never to
have occurred to their noisy, though not insin-
cere admirers.

Some people ignorant of Ireland thought that
this practical indifference towards such men
proved Irish loyalty to British rule and utter
disapprobation of their conduct. But this was
not the case. The religious element, always the
strongest influence over Irish minds, interposed
between mere applause and dangerous action,
permitting, even encouraging, sympathy, but for-
bidding participation.* Though the chief leaders

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* "One important class in Ireland, a class long accus-
tomed to move with or head the people throughout this time,
set themselves invincibly against the contemplated insurrection
--the Catholic clergy. They had from the first, as a body,

were Protestant, they yet appealed, like their predecessors in '98, far more successfully to Irish Catholics, while influencing few co-religionists. The frequent expression of " Ireland for the Irish," the furious appeals of Mitchel to Irish Catholics, especially about their country's long oppression by England, roused little sympathy among Protestants. Many Irish Catholics were rather puzzled to hear ancestral wrongs called to mind and even their revengeful feelings aroused by men whose religion and race were those of their historical foes. Like the " United Irish " revolt of '98, which the '48 movement somewhat resembled, the revolution was checked at first by the timely arrests of its leaders.* Although obedience to British rule was everywhere restored in Ireland, it was not that of contented loyalty. As in '98, the

regarded the Young Irelanders with suspicion. They fancied they saw in this movement too much that was akin to the Continental revolutionists. At this time in 1848 the power of the Catholic priests was unshaken, was stronger than ever. Their antagonism was fatal to the movement.' — Sullivan's " New Ireland," Vol. I.

* " Throughout the country arrests and seizure of arms were made on all hands. There was no longer any question of resistance. Never was collapse more complete. The fatal war fever that came in a day vanished almost as rapidly. Suddenly everyone appeared astounded at the madness of what had been contemplated."—Sullivan's " New Ireland," Vol. I.

Irish Catholic majority entrusted their political
as well as religious guidance to their clergy.
They believed, not unreasonably, that they were
better advisers, even in political wisdom, than
the enthusiastic, fanciful laymen, who, without
military skill, foreign aid, or concerted plan of
action, had nearly involved them in a hopeless
contest with the British empire. The subse-
quent history of these leaders proves that,
despite their many interesting qualities, they
were thoroughly unpractical, differing often from
each other, except in common dislike to British
supremacy. In the American civil war, which
armed fellow-republicans against each other,
many Irish leaders, even Mitchel and Meagher,
took opposite sides,* thus proving how little
they agreed in political questions, directly the
British empire was out of sight.† When they
disappeared, Ireland, as after '98, though pas-
sively loyal to British rule, remained for the

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* M'Carthy's " Ireland since the Union."

† "Thousands upon thousands of Irishmen fought upon
either side in the great American Iliad. There is a touching
story told of a battle in which a Federal Irish regiment found
itself opposed to an Irish regiment on the Confederate side,
and of how the two regiments refused to join battle, and passed
each other with mutual cries of ' God save Ireland.' Of the
Irish brigade that followed Meagher few came back."—
M'Carthy's " Ireland since the Union," Vol. II., p. 101.

most part discontented. Hostility between its religious denominations, though restrained by strict laws and vigilant police, still continued, occasionally revealed in riots arising from no other cause but sectarian animosity.

CHAPTER XII.

THE year 1848, and many subsequent ones, so memorable for European revolution, made a very different impression upon Great Britain and upon Ireland, as history proved. In the former the popular literature which, during domestic peace especially, has so much influence with the public, had ceased to mention British civil wars except as matters of history, which no longer aroused irritation or any kind of excitement. The popular novelists, Lord Lytton, Dickens, Thackeray, &c., described modern British society as successfully as Scott described that of previous times. Yet, to understand Irish thought and principle, Scott's thorough knowledge of religious and political bigotry is more useful than any of them, though he never mentions Ireland. If British readers attribute to political Irishmen the mingled good and evil among intolerant people that Scott describes, they will understand them better than

from most historians or contemporary writers. During the European revolts of 1848 and subsequent years, the Irish priesthood, for a long period, had watched the position of Pope Pius the Ninth with great anxiety. This Pontiff, a man of very amiable character, was deprived of his small political dominion immediately around Rome by the desire of the Italian majority, who finally obtained national independence under one ruler. This revolution was gradually effected without much opposition, though the Pope protested against it while retaining spiritual authority undiminished by this purely political change. Throughout Europe, probably, none either grieved or rejoiced over the Pope's supposed humiliation like Irish Catholics and Protestants. Neither could understand nor believe that this Italian movement was entirely political, without being involved with religious motive or principle. To most Irish Catholics the Pope's loss of temporal power over a small province was a sacrilegious blow aimed at the Head of the Catholic Church by Italian atheists, encouraged by British Protestants. To many Irish Protestants it seemed the death-blow given to the expiring Papacy by a nation which, probably, would

soon become Protestant. It was really a contest between Italian clergy and laymen about an exclusively political question without reference to religious belief. Among many of the Irish this explanation was hardly credited for a time by any denomination. The Irish priesthood compassionating the Pope's distress, and perhaps additionally excited by the exultation of Irish Protestants, eagerly organised an expedition of Catholic recruits in 1860 to defend the Pope against the majority of his subjects, who now acknowledged the former King of Sardinia as the sovereign of all Italy. This singular enterprise evidently puzzled many Irish popular leaders whose religious sympathies inclined them to the Pope, while their political ideas inclined them to Italian liberty.* The expedition politically failed, but the Irish volunteers who returned home were greeted with a warm welcome by their co-religionists.

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* "On this subject there was displayed one of the most violent conflicts of English and Irish popular opinion that I have ever noted. Englishmen were disgusted that the Irish should, out of fanatical worship of the Pope, desire to prevent the Romans from being free. Irishmen were angered to see how filibustering raids were subsidised in England against an aged and peaceful Pontiff, the head of Christendom."—Sullivan's "New Ireland," Vol. II.

This curious episode in modern Irish history proves the complete contrast between Irish popular opinion and that of other European nations. Thus foreign and British Liberals and Radicals united with Irish Protestant Conservatives in viewing the Pope's Irish recruits with mingled ridicule and indignation. Many European monarchists, including some British Conservatives, were more inclined to sympathise with them owing to their common dread of revolutionary triumph. This expedition being favoured by Irish public opinion, however, proved one great fact, that despite French or American republican doctrines, Irish Catholics of the nineteenth century were nearly, if not quite, as much under clerical influence as their ancestors who enlisted under St. Ruth in behalf of James the Second at the same all-powerful exhortation. Neither the ideas of Tone and the Emmets in 1798, nor the eloquence of Mitchel and Meagher in 1848, aroused the same unselfish, devoted, and really generous enthusiasm displayed at this time by Irish Catholics through the moral influence of their clergy.* The

* "In this chapter of her history Ireland is to be seen and studied under the influences of overpowering religious emo-

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failure of the '48 movement also showed that its
leaders, though admired and popular in Ireland
generally, made no firm impression on the people
they aspired to guide.   When they disappeared
the old religious feuds which they, like their '98
predecessors, had vainly tried to extinguish,
continued to agitate the country, causing more
or less riot and bloodshed every year.   Political
disaffection soon reappeared in the Phœnix and
Fenian societies. Neither contained the eloquent
or high-minded men who headed the '48 move-
ment.   Smith O'Brien, returned from transport-
ation, was now living quietly in Ireland.   Al-
though he never changed his political views, he
strongly denounced these new conspiracies, and
warned his fellow-countrymen against them.
Irish popular feeling, however, had become more
practical and less visionary or romantic than
when he had attempted to lead it.   Already
there appeared designs to rouse tenants against
landowners, and, to some extent, to follow Com-
munist principles prevalent, though not estab-
lished, throughout the Continent.   With such

tion, or, as it might be less sympathetically said, carried away
by such blind and fanatical zeal for a religious chief as must
mark a nation imbued with bigotry and intolerance."— Sulli-
van's " New Ireland," Vol. II.

ideas the aristocratic O'Brien had no sympathy whatever.*   He disliked them as much as the British government did, and probably his disapproval had more effect in checking them, at least for a time, than was generally known.† He died before the Fenian agitation had acquired strength, but he would, doubtless, have opposed it like the Phœnix conspiracy, from which it proceeded, and of which it may be called the revival.‡ Both movements were almost entirely confined to Roman Catholics, yet were alike condemned by their clergy.   Of the two the Fenian was more dangerous, widely spread, and formidable in every way.   It was

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* "O'Brien is bold and high-minded, but capricious, unaccountable, intractable ; also, he is an aristocrat ; born and bred and being a genuine Irishman himself, he cannot be brought to see that his fellow-aristocrats are not Irishmen, but the irreconcilable enemies of Ireland."—Mitchel's "Jail Journal." p. 26.

† "Mr. Smith O'Brien, forgetting entirely, or appearing to forget entirely, the history of his own struggle little more than ten years earlier with O'Connell, judged it advisable to write a letter to the "Nation" appealing to the Irish people against the Phœnix conspiracy."— M'Carthy's "Ireland since the Union,".p. 154. As Mr. O'Brien, being sane and not old, could hardly have forgot entirely his conduct a few years before, and as even opponents acknowledged him incapable of falsehood, evidently his ideas of Irish liberty were different from Mr. M'Carthy's.

‡ "From the dust of the exploded Phœnix conspiracy arose the far more formidable image of Fenianism."—M'Carthy's "Ireland since the Union," p. 155.

chiefly planned and supported by the Irish in America.*

The European States, even France, which, when under a republic, is constantly menaced with a restoration of monarchy, have offered little encouragement to Irish revolutionists of this century. But in the United States, chiefly in its towns, Irish emigrants found almost another Ireland, while the American flag, emblem of republican triumph over British rule, encouraged a daring hostility to Britain. Yet the leaders of this dangerous movement were, none of them, equal to those of '98 or '48 in genius, social position, or education.†   Smith O'Brien, of royal descent, and a thorough gentleman by education

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* "The way these men have of doing their business and the dread character of their work is in no way affected by the almost ludicrous phases of the preliminary performance. Seated round in semi-circular fashion are the different delegates, who, in the language they love so well, may be described as the flower of Irish-American patriotism. Listen to the oaths which fill the air. These two patriots to our left have evidently disagreed about something. See how they jump to their feet, kick the chairs about, throw a curse across the floor at the chairman as he seeks to stop their rowdy proceedings. There is no greater fraud in this nineteenth century of ours than the modern Irish patriotic agitator in America."—Le Caron's " Twenty-five Years in the Secret Service," pp. 196-279.

† " Its leaders were not men of high position, or distinguished name, or proved ability. They were not of aristocratic birth ; they were not orators, they were not powerful writers."—M'Carthy's " History of our own Times," Vol. IV.

and feeling ; Thomas Meagher, whose brilliant
eloquence somewhat resembled Moore's poetry,
and whose chivalrous bravery fully bore out his
heroic sentiments, gave the '48 revolt a romantic
interest more deserved by their characters than
by their designs or actions. In the Phœnix
and Fenian conspiracies there appeared neither
eloquence nor power of imagination.* The
chief leaders in both, James Stephens, though
evidently an able organiser and active plotter,
with the yet more violent O'Donovan Rossa
and others, were more like professional con-
spirators, enjoying mystery and hurrying about,
usually disguised, between the United States,
England, Ireland, and France.†

Many '48 leaders, like the '98 chiefs, evi-
dently lived in a dream about Ireland, and
excited their vivid imaginations through often
dwelling on past history, to the exclusion of
the present. They were, therefore, imperfectly
understood by both opponents and followers.

* See Le Caron's " Twenty-five Years in the Secret Service."
† " Hitherto the commonalty of Ireland had been led by
men of culture and position. Stephens took the first step to
change all that. He was for social and democratic revolution.
There was no mental culture or intellectual refinement to be
found in the ranks of his numerous converts."—Bagenal's
" American Irish," p. 125.

When their revolt failed they found themselves
viewed more with contempt than apprehension
by the British government, blamed by loyalist
fellow-countrymen, and, though admired or
pitied, yet not really comprehended by the
Irish majority. The Fenians were more easily
understood, because more practical and un-
scrupulous. The American civil war, in which
many Irish refugees and emigrants took part,
apparently first encouraged the Fenians.* They
first tried to make war on the British in Canada,
but the Americans, while allowing them to
abuse England freely in speeches and news-
papers, forcibly stopped their progress there.
After being thus baffled they turned their
attention to Ireland.† They appealed to far
more desperate characters than the '48 leaders
solicited, and allied themselves with British and
foreign revolutionists. Their designs much re-
sembled those of the French Communists.
They therefore incurred the energetic condem-

* See M'Carthy's " Ireland since the Union."
† " The Fenians in America invaded Canada on the 31st
May, 1866, and enjoyed for some brief hours the honour of
victory. But the United States interfered to preserve the
neutrality of the frontier, arrested most of the Fenian leaders,
and extinguished the invasion."—M'Carthy's " Ireland since
the Union," p. 190.

nation of the Catholic clergy, some of whom had viewed the '48 revolt with compassionate distrust as a vain effort of well-meaning but unpractical men. The Fenian leaders, arousing hopes of vengeance, plunder, and pillage, by unscrupulous means, could expect nothing except either alliance or determined resistance.*
The priesthood opposed Fenianism with decisive energy. In most previous revolts they had quietly, even compassionately, discouraged actual rebellion among their people. But in the Fenians they recognised an old enemy in European conflict reappearing in Ireland under a new designation. The Continental knowledge, intercourse, and position of Catholic clergy thus warned them about the ultimate designs and secret intentions of this half-Irish, half-American society.† Again they perceived, not with the political apprehension of statesmen, but with the conscientious alarm of theologians, the

* "The obstacles that most concerned the secret leaders arose from the opposition given to their scheme by the Catholic clergy, and the open policy of anti-Fenian Nationalists."—Sullivan's "New Ireland," Vol. II.
† "One of the most important intellectual advantages of Catholicism is that the constant international communication it produces corrects insular modes of thought."—Lecky's "Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland," p. 243.

destructive principles which animated these con-
spirators, rendering their triumph more dan-
gerous than any mere political change could be
to the interests of religion.*

While these dissensions occurred among Irish
Catholics, their Protestant fellow-countrymen
mostly remained loyal to British authority.
The continued discontent of the Catholics,
proved in successive attempts at revolt, only
tended to make their opponents more loyal to
the existing Government. It is probably this
mutual distrust between the divided Irish
which always prevented Protestantism being
strengthened by quarrels among Irish Catholics.
Thus Irish priests and Fenians warmly re-
proached one another without the slightest
advantage to Protestantism resulting from their
dispute. It ended in the complete success of
the priests, but it was a victory gained only

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* "The Fenian movement on its very threshold was plunged
into a bitter war with the ecclesiastical authorities of the
Catholic Church. 'The priest has no right to interfere or
dictate in politics,' said the Fenian leaders. 'You cannot be
admitted to the sacraments until you give up and repent of
illicit oaths,' responded the priests; 'and if you contumaciously
continue in membership of an oath-bound secret society you
are liable to excommunication.' 'We are cursed by our Church
for loving our country,' exclaimed the Fenians."—Sullivan's
"New Ireland," Vol. II.

over the thoughtless and desperate of their own people. The contest left the old sectarian quarrel between Catholics and Protestants just as before. The final submission of the Catholic disaffected to their priests probably not only deterred Protestant revolutionists from trusting them, but preserved a strict political union between Irish Prelatists and Presbyterians. The historical jealousies among Irish non-Catholics during and since the Fenian movement almost disappeared. In Ulster, however, there was renewed a spirit of hostility between Catholics and Protestants, which, not arising from any personal quarrel, was evidently caused by historical enmity. The British government at length found it necessary to make it a penal offence for men to proclaim themselves either " good Catholics " or " good Protestants " in some Irish towns. It would require considerable knowledge of both Irish history and character to make such legislation appear just or even comprehensible to more peaceful communities.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE suppression of the Fenian movement
is instructive and interesting to all histo-
rical students. It cannot be thoroughly
understood without a glance at Continental
history immediately before and during its ex-
istence. Although the Pope had lost all tem-
poral power, he was at Rome protected by the
King of Italy's troops, who undertook to guard
his person and dignity from the violence of
the extreme Republicans or Communists. This
party throughout Europe always detested the
Papacy and Roman Catholicism, though, to the
disappointment of many Protestants, few of
them were disposed to profess any other form
of Christianity.* The religious strife in Catholic

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* "The irreligious Italians simply disbelieved Christianity
without hating it. They looked at it as artists or as statesmen,
and so looking at it, they liked it better in the re-established
form than in any other. 'We think it a most remarkable fact
that no Christian nation which did not adopt the principles of

Europe from the French revolution in the last century to the present time has been between Catholicism and infidelity, the latter being generally allied with republicanism.* The Catholic clergy in Europe have consistently supported monarchy against republicanism. Thus European republicans were almost always hostile to Catholic priests. A few years before the Fenian conspiracy republicanism was greatly checked throughout Europe, partly through their influence and always with their approval. As a rule, the most devout in France, Spain, and Italy opposed republicanism owing to its being often associated with infidelity. In Ireland alone, amid European countries, republican principles in many Catholic minds were mingled with love for the same Church that condemned them throughout Europe. The political ascendancy of Protes-

the Reformation before the end of the sixteenth century should ever have adopted them. Catholic communities have since that time become infidel and become Catholic again, but none have become Protestant.'"—Macaulay's "Essay on Ranke's History."

* "The struggle against the Church of Rome in the present day is not strictly theological. Its real adversary is now no longer the Protestant divine. The theological doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings was the basis of the government of Catholic Europe."—Lecky's "Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland," p. 304.

tantism first established by revolution, had in
that exceptional country often inclined Catho-
lic priests to become demagogues, the very
class to whom, on the Continent, they were
implacably opposed.   During the Fenian agi-
tation, the head of the Catholic Church in
Ireland was Cardinal Paul Cullen, Archbishop
of Dublin.   This prelate, on arriving in Ireland
from Italy, where he had long resided, found
himself in a new and extraordinary position.
Yet his conscientious mind never wavered,
never allowed him for a moment to deviate
from the path of religious duty, which he well
understood and performed.   He perceived that
many of his people, if not avowed repub-
licans, regarded revolutionary principles with
approval.   Some loyal Irish Protestants indig-
nantly assured the British public in speeches
and newspapers that " Popery and Rebellion "
were allied in Ireland against England.   It
appeared, indeed, to use Macaulay's words
about the '98 revolt, that Popery and Jacobin-
ism were joined together in an unnatural and
portentous union.*   The Irish in America en-

* " History of England," Vol. III.

couraged discontent among their countrymen at home by praising the Republic of the United States, and ardently wishing to establish one like it in Ireland, in place of what they called British tyranny. These American Irish were usually very different from the Irish who travelled or resided on the Continent. The latter, by intercourse with foreign society, generally returned home enlightened by acquaintance with accomplished foreigners and the improving influences of artistic or classical information. The Irish in the United States had very different experiences; they usually associated together in towns more than with American society. They habitually excited one another by deploring their country's past history, and abusing British rule.* The example, moreover, of the Americans freeing themselves from British control always presented a dangerous temptation to needy or discontented Irish emi-

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* "The Irish in America have always persisted against their own interests in keeping up their distinctiveness of race and religion in a manner antagonistic to the great mass of the American people. The Roman Catholic clergy have built up the greatness of their Church in the United States by means of the Irish masses, whom they persuaded and commanded to settle in the great cities for ecclesiastical purposes when the great emigration commenced."—Bagenal's "American Irish," p. 696.

grants.   Instead, therefore, of becoming en-
lightened or pacific, the Irish in America have
usually become more prejudiced than ever
against Britain by seldom hearing any argu-
ments or reasoning but their own.   Their past
and present hardships or troubles, freely com-
municated between them and their friends in
Ireland, were usually directly or indirectly
attributed to British misrule.   Thus they ac-
quired little, if any, European knowledge, while
confirming each other in partial views of Irish
history, in which British rule was exclusively
made responsible, not only for ancestral wrongs,
but for personal misfortunes.*   No more, as in
former times, were France and Spain appealed
to for the rescue of Ireland.   Yet enmity to
England, almost as violent as in the days of
Sir Phelim O'Neill or the siege of Limerick,
prevailed throughout part of the island.   But
the Irish disaffected no longer needed sym-
pathy from European monarchs, or even aid

* "Assimilating rapidly with the thoughts and by the influ-
ences of their surroundings, the Irish began to look back upon
their old life and position in Ireland with distaste.   The only
tangible and constant idea present came to be one of hatred and
abhorrence of that system of government which they were sedu-
lously taught to believe was the fountain of all their woes, real
and imaginary."—Bagenal's "American Irish," p. 131.

from European revolutionists. They fixed their hopes on fellow-countrymen in the United States of America.* A new Ireland was now arising there, constantly reinforced by fresh emigrants from the mother country, often ardent and enterprising, but often vindictive and desperate, full of new hopes and old memories. Some were inspired with a vague idea of substituting a happy and prosperous in place of a discontented Ireland. Others, again, were animated by the more practical intention of taking unscrupulous revenge on supposed descendants of alleged British oppressors.

Amid and nominally over such revolutionary spirits, often suspected by loyal Protestants, and opposed by rebellious Catholics, Cardinal Cullen found himself placed. His Italian experiences of Catholic clergy always combating revolutionary principles were now greatly changed. He found many of his Church directly or indirectly advocating rebellion, and most Irish Protestants

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* "The result of the abortive insurrection of 1848 was to change the base of Irish revolution from Ireland to America. It was received with open arms by those Irish who were already settled there, a goodly section of the population, and eagerly espoused by the million and a half emigrants who had contemporaneously left the shores of Ireland."—Bagenal's "American Irish," p. 111.

supporting the monarchy and preserving law and
order, while believing, and trying to make others
believe, that the Irish revolutionary spirit, secret,
plotting, and dangerous, was chiefly caused by
the Romish Church.   For this vehement asser-
tion, uttered in speeches, published in news-
papers, even expressed in sermons, there seemed
some cause.   Catholic journals abounded with
incentives to revolt against British rule.   Many
influential Catholic speakers, perhaps irritated
by Protestant loyalists' denunciation of their
Church, inveighed against England with a vio-
lence hardly consistent with obedience to exist-
ing law.   Probably no Catholic layman at this
time had much influence in recommending mod-
eration among his party.   They required spiri-
tual direction even in political conduct. Mean-
while, during the Fenian movement, the Orange
society, which in times of comparative quiet
attracted little public attention, came boldly
forward as the champion of Protestant mon-
archy, now threatened by an apparent combina-
tion of what they called " Popery " and infidelity.
Thus many Irish Catholics, tempted by repub-
lican sympathisers and irritated by Protestant
loyalists, were fast becoming what their foes

described them—dangerous rebels to existing law—when Cardinal Cullen, as if the spirit of his Church in its early ages had inspired him, appeared upon the political as well as the religous scene of action. His course was alike calm, firm, and immovable.* In a spirit somewhat like the Grand Master of the Templars in Scott's " Ivanhoe," he resolved to call back his people to their historical rule of obedience to existing laws, while maintaining above all contact with the politics of a temporal world the sacred principles of the unchangeable Church.† He had, therefore, to encounter the distrust of suspicious Protestants, as well as the passionate, if not mutinous, remonstrances of excitable Catholics. To both, however, the Cardinal showed the inflexible resolution of a firm religious mind, defying all opposition to what he believed his duty

* " His principles were framed in an atmosphere quite unlike that of Ireland. All the bent of his mind was with authority and against resistance to the constituted powers. He had seen the evil work which revolution had wrought elsewhere. He might have been one of the early Fathers transferred from the fifth to the nineteenth century."—Sullivan's " New Ireland," Vol. I.

† " He had been chosen at Rome for a great and far-reaching purpose of disciplinary transformation in Irish Catholic affairs. He was more Roman than Irish, and his design of bringing the Irish Catholic Church into stricter conformity to the Roman model incurred for him not a few conflicts among the Irish clergy."—Sullivan's " New Ireland." Vol. I.

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to maintain.   He steadily resisted the Irish
Fenian movement with a success which, per-
haps, few men could have achieved, yet in so
doing he gave no triumph to Irish Protestants.
He opposed all doctrine he believed heretical
with as much zealous energy as if, like the
Cardinals of old, he could invoke the political
power of a Catholic monarch to enforce his will.
He was in himself the incarnation of historical
Catholicism at this time in Ireland.   He pos-
sessed that rare knowledge of his Church's true
interest which a long residence in Italy could
well impart, and his foreign experiences pecu-
liarly fitted him to calmly preserve its dignity in
Ireland, alike unmoved by Protestant hostility,
Catholic complaint, or infidel temptation.   His
European knowledge guided or governed his
Irish policy.   He had, in common with most
Italian priests, viewed Mazzini's republican plots
and Garibaldi's revolutionary exploits with abhor-
rence and apprehension.   Yet these popular
leaders were each admired in England, the
latter especially, from the Liberal Premier, Mr.
Gladstone, and the Liberal aristocracy, to Radi-
cal or Republican artisans and workmen.*

* " Mr. Gladstone was among the very first and most cordial
in his welcome to Garibaldi.   He was beset by dukes, mobbed

The American Irish revolutionists, perhaps, rather reminded the Cardinal of these Italian patriots or insurgents, as they were severally termed by admirers and opponents. The Italian revolution finally established the kingdom of united Italy under Victor Emanuel, formerly King of Sardinia. Nearly all the Italian clergy disapproved of his obtaining the Italian throne, especially as he included the Pope's small territory in his new dominion. Many devout Catholics dreaded a Communist revolt in both France and Italy, owing to the popularity, influence, and success of Garibaldi among the Italians. This brave, extraordinary man, though forcibly controlled by Victor Emanuel, to whom he was only occasionally obedient, had many Red Republican or Communist allies and admirers. He was also a determined enemy to the Papacy, against which, though not much of a literary genius, he wrote rather a violent book called " The Rule of the Monk." Cardinal Cullen, whose ideas were more Italian than Irish, was the more fitted by

by countesses."—M'Carthy's " History of our own Times," Vol. III. Although English ladies may not have been quite so demonstrative as Mr. M'Carthy intimates, yet British enthusiasm for the revolutionary general astonished many English and Irish Catholics, and was disapproved of by some of the British Conservative party.

European knowledge to guide or control rebelli-
ous Irish Catholics, and to disregard the hos-
tility of loyal Protestants. His mission was to
preserve Irish Catholicism, strict, exact, and
dutiful, unmoved either by Protestant enmity or
revolutionary temptation, by which it was alike
menaced.*   From the former, indeed, he had
little to fear. The mutual antipathy between
Irish Catholics and Protestants, expressed in
speeches, books and sermons, as usual dis-
couraged conversions, owing to the anger such
language aroused among both parties. Cullen,
therefore, had not much cause to dread the pro-
gress of Protestantism among his people. The
constant abuse of "Popery" by many Irish Prot-
estants, whose minds were prejudiced by his-
torical traditions against Catholics, was thus his
involuntary assistance. It effectually deterred
turbulent Catholics, irritated by his strictness,
from inclining to such vehement foes. But
from atheism or free-thinking, allied with Ameri-

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* ."On more than one occasion the Roman Catholic bishops
have hazarded their popularity in this way. They could at a
signal have armed a million combatants against a persecuting
Government, and that signal they refused to give."—Father
Perraud's "Studies on Ireland," quoted in Mitchel's "History of
Ireland," p. 249.

can republicanism and sympathising with European revolution everywhere, Cullen had much to apprehend.*   An earnest, though somewhat secret, contest ensued between him and some intractable Irish Catholics lay and clerical.   As might have been expected, the victory, morally and politically, remained with the firm representative of Papal authority.

* American democracy would never agree with the Roman Catholic clergy, if the following extract from a popular American work can be trusted.— " It was clearly proven that one-half as many Catholic children attend the public schools [in the United States] as the denominational schools, notwithstanding the fulminations of the priests and the command of the Vicar of Christ, the supreme Pontiff, which is quoted in the recent attack in Pittsburg against the godless public schools.   So let the Catholic Church continue to issue its mandate against free, godless education in the Republic.   The Pope being infallible, must be consistent, and this is his nineteenth century bull against the comet, and will probably be as efficacious as the older one." —"Triumphant Democracy; or, Fifty Years March of the Republic," by Carnegie, pp. 98-9.

CHAPTER XIV.

FTER a short period of turbulent remon-
strance against Cardinal Cullen's advice,
or rather dictation, the Irish Catholics
gradually subsided into their usual state of po-
litical dissatisfaction, but thorough religious con-
tentment. The Fenian agitation, always detested
by Irish Protestants, and generally disavowed
by Irish Catholics, collapsed without actual re-
bellion, though causing alarm and annoyance to
the British government. Most of its leaders,
like those of 1848, were easily arrested, tried,
and imprisoned, without attempt at rescue.
James Stephens, however, escaped from his
Dublin prison. Some suspected he was a
Government spy, but his continued popularity
with Fenian associates appeared to contradict
this idea. After the failure of this movement,
the two chief causes of Ireland's endless discon-

tent were apparently the established Prelatist Church, and the quarrels between landowners and occupiers. The Episcopal Church had been always disliked by the Catholic majority, who viewed it as a badge of conquest and injustice. It was also disliked, though in a less degree, by Irish Presbyterians, who besides disapproving of its supremacy, thought that its invidious position rather checked than aided Protestant progress among Irishmen.* Many British statesmen declared that as a mission Church it had failed completely, and proposed its disestablishment and disendowment. This important measure was accordingly carried, under the auspices of Mr. Gladstone in 1869. This extraordinary statesman, whose long, eventful public career made him such a favourite with Continental Liberals, and so disliked by the Catholic clergy abroad, became in Ireland the latter's friendly ally. For the first time in history an English Protestant Premier proclaimed to the united Parliament his dislike to the Irish Prelatist Church, and his determination to destroy its ascendancy, indignantly comparing it to a poi-

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* See Reid's "History of the Presbyterian Church."

sonous tree. The measure did not at first pro-
duce the effect desired by its promoters. Instead
of being thought a mere matter of justice, as
they had hoped, it was viewed as a concession
by most Irish Catholics and Protestants. A
people so intensely religious as the Irish, of all
denominations, could not regard any Church's
humiliation as only a political measure. Many
Catholics thought it a long delayed victory,
gained by the constant pressure of Irish agita-
tion over the worldly minds of British states-
men, who cared little about any religion. It
was thought a dangerous, disgraceful defeat by
many Irish Protestants, inflicted by a union of
Irish Catholics and British Radicals upon the
loyal minority of Ireland. Instead of allaying
religious animosities, it apparently renewed
them.

The Orangemen seemed rather revived than
depressed after the first shock of the Premier's
treachery, as many called it, was over. They
could see nothing in the measure but a triumph
of the reviving foe whom their ancestry had de-
feated at the Boyne. Accordingly Orange flags,
drums, processions, and watch-words were re-
newed with increased enthusiasm. Some influen-

tial Protestants, who had thought this Society more likely to break the peace than preserve it, now alarmed or irritated at the exulting triumph of the Catholic majority, began either to favour or to join it. Thus the old religious feuds which, since 1848, had rather yielded in popular interest to political discussion, began to revive. The former civil wars with their religious objects and motives were recalled to public attention, more than recollections of Tone, O'Connell, or even Smith O'Brien and Meagher. Meantime the death of Cardinal Cullen removed a strong, energetic mind from directing the policy of the Catholic Church in Ireland. It was now that the Land agitation, often allied with Ribbonism, and always more or less mingled with disaffection in country districts, vied with religious strife in agitating the Irish population. This subject had never been much mentioned in either the '98 or '48 revolts, which in some respects resembled one another. In both these there was the same marked difference between the leaders and the led in motive as well as in education. During the Phœnix conspiracy, the Fenian movement, and agrarian agitation, all indirectly connected with each other, there was more resemblance and

more mutual understanding between leaders and followers. All these three last movements were comparatively self-dependent, planned and supported by Irishmen at home or in the United States, but independent of Continental alliance or even sympathy.*

The alienation between landlords and tenants was often shown in rapacity on one side, and ferocity on the other. From recent admissions of Nationalists or Land Leaguers, calling themselves the tenants' advocates, it would be difficult, however, for owners and occupiers to agree if they truly represent Irish tenantry.† The increasing discontent of the latter first caused the formation of the party expressively called Home Rulers. They believed that from the British parliament in London they could never obtain the same favour as from a Dublin

* " The vast Irish democracy in America lives in the tenement houses of the great cities, in the cottages of the factory towns, in the huts of the public works and mines, or as domestic servants in the houses of the wealthy. It is these who form the constituencies of anti-English Irish demagogues, and who contribute their money to the various funds which have become, indeed, the real cause of all political evil in Ireland."—" Bagenal's American Irish," p. 36.

† " The Irish peasant is, as a rule, profoundly unwilling to emigrate. Furthermore, the Irish peasant is in his heart convinced that the land is really his."—M'Carthy's " Ireland since the Union," page 241.

parliament, consisting of Irish members exclusively, and chiefly, if not entirely, composed of their own representatives. The landowners, both Protestant and Catholic, apprehending the same result, thoroughly opposed this demand for home legislation. They know that they are often viewed by their tenants almost like rapacious foreigners, having no moral right either to their fortunes or positions in the country. Their interests and influence are often thought alike opposed to the welfare of the community. If they neglect their duties or become absentees they are blamed and called useless. If they remain in Ireland and take an active part in its affairs, they are called interfering and tyrannical. Instead of their being respected, it is usually a cause of general satisfaction when they are in any way defeated, thwarted, or unfortunate. Their position is one of peculiar difficulty, as, unlike most countries, they are not the representatives of the people among whom they live,* but are generally Protestants, and the tenants, except in Ulster,

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* "It is to the absence of Catholic landlords that both the revolutionary and sacerdotal extravagancies of Irish Catholic politics are mainly to be attributed."—Lecky's "England in the Eighteenth Century," chap. ii.

generally Catholics. The few Catholic land-
owners find their position and interests so en-
dangered that they are usually forced to oppose
co-religionists on every subject except their
common faith. All Irish landowners must
perceive how differently their class is viewed
and treated in Great Britain.* They cannot
feel the same interest as British landlords in
the welfare of tenantry, most of whom repu-
diate their rights altogether. There exists a
feeling of alienation between these classes even
when there is no actual dispute. Landlords
are often tempted to employ strangers as care-
takers, gardeners, land stewards, and game-
keepers, owing to the general disavowal of
proprietary rights. A combination sometimes
exists among Irish people to protect, or, at
least, screen from justice those who injure a
landlord's property. Yet it must not be sup-
posed that even they are mere rogues. They
are often honest and forbearing among each

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* "In no country, I believe, do the landowners as a class so
thoroughly comprehend the character and capacities of their
tenants and agricultural labourers, or take a more intimate,
personal, and perennial interest in their welfare [than in
England]. In no country do we see fewer and less savage
outbursts of class hatred, mistrust, and rancour."—Berkley's
"Wealth and Welfare," chap. viii , p. 156.

other. But they view a landlord differently from any other individual. In their opinions he has morally scarcely any rights at all. To cheat or injure him may be an offence against existing laws framed in his interests, but that is a very different thing from being a sin in the sight of God. Tenants who habitually abuse or deceive landlords are not always the worthless characters such conduct would indicate. The truth is, they believe that all landlords are in a thoroughly unjust position, supported by existing law without moral right. Hence arises the unfortunate spectacle Ireland presents of two classes, whose interests are in most countries thought the same, viewing each other with nearly as much enmity as if they represented hostile nations. The British government, trying, as it were, to mediate between them, but satisfying neither party, enforced by law an almost general reduction in rents throughout Ireland. The measure had the effect of alarming and impoverishing landlords while encouraging occupiers in hoping for more reductions. On the other hand, this great measure, called the Land Act of 1881, for which Mr. Gladstone, as Premier, was chiefly responsible,

probably prevented some cruel evictions at the
time, while arousing expectations among ten-
ants which no British government would con-
sent to gratify.

The first Home Rule leader was Mr. Isaac
Butt, a Dublin lawyer, at whose death Mr.
Shaw, a man of moderate views and abilities,
succeeded in the leadership of this new and
popular party. But he soon gave way and
yielded pre-eminence to a successor of more
ability, stronger will, and greater determina-
tion, Mr. Charles Stewart Parnell. This re-
markable man in himself represented three
classes in Ireland, all of whom opposed the
party he led. He was an aristocrat by family,
a landlord by position, and a Prelatist in re-
ligion. Yet he proved himself a formidable
enemy to the interests of all three. His evident
knowledge of Irish character in its strength
and weakness was one of his chief and doubt-
less one of his most successful qualities. He
had the advantage of studying the previous
careers of the '98 and '48 leaders, of Daniel
O'Connell, and of the Fenian chiefs. He ap-
parently availed himself of this knowledge in
deriving practical guidance for his own policy.

Like the Hungarian leader, Louis Kossuth, in
'48-'49, he surrounded himself with associates
whom he used, directed, and managed with
the skill of a master spirit over sympathising
yet subordinate minds. He nominated for par-
liament the men he thought best fitted to fur-
ther the cause of Home Rule. To this object he
devoted himself, and in Ireland nearly all the
candidates he recommended were returned, many
without opposition. When his former adherent,
Mr. Callan, M.P. for Louth, lost his confidence
or failed to satisfy him, Mr. Parnell, without
using abusive language, like O'Connell, calmly
named a substitute, and dispensed with Mr.
Callan as if he were of no further use. Unlike
all previous Irish leaders, his chief scene of
action was in London.* In the vicinity of
Westminster he held councils, appointed future
Irish members, and directed the whole policy
of his eager, yet obedient partisans. Although
he could "play the orator," if not "as well as
Nestor," yet well enough to attract attention
when he wished, he used his oratory, like
everything else he controlled, entirely for po-

* See Mr. T. P. O'Connor's "Parnell Movement"; also
Sullivan's "New Ireland."

litical purposes, with little regard for personal reputation or display, except when they promoted those objects.* His knowledge of life and character was by no means confined to Ireland. He was educated in England, and was often in America. With the Irish in the United States, with his countrymen at home, especially in Dublin and in the south, as well as with British society in London, he was well acquainted, and with these he had chiefly to deal. He apparently knew that the British public may be influenced by other means as well as by parliamentary speeches. Accordingly, as if to aid his efforts in the House of Commons, appeared the interesting writings of his adherents, Messrs. Justin M'Carthy and T. P. O'Connor. The Messrs. M'Carthy, father and son, besides amusing British readers by such novels as " Dear Lady Disdain," have written two important works—" The History of our own Times," and " Ireland since the Union." In the former Mr. Justin M'Carthy, sen., especially in the last volume, steadily supports his leader's views, with whose ap-

* T. P. O'Connor's " Parnell Movement."

proval, perhaps, the work was written. As
if to suit all classes in British society, this
work often mentions art, science, and litera-
ture, while throughout there can be perceived
a steady advocacy of Irish Home Rule.
He does not hesitate to slightly blame the
violence of the '48 leaders, and, as it were,
apologises for the British government being
at length forced to suppress them.* Yet,
while Messrs. M'Carthy and O'Connor peace-
fully supported their party in London, the
fiercer spirits of O'Donovan Rossa and other
prominent Fenians in America, desired Ire-
land's separation from Britain by open rebel-
lion. The murders of the Irish secretaries,
Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, in
Dublin, in May, 1882, by avowed Fenians
encouraged by American Irish partisans, were
calmly condemned by Mr. Parnell, but vindi-
cated by some of his admirers in America.
After the immediate shock of this crime was
over Mr. Parnell steadily resumed his Parlia-

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* "Government had to do something. The Lord Lieutenant
could not go on for ever allowing a newspaper [John Mitchel's]
to scream out appeals to rebellion."—"History of our own
Times," Vol. I.

mentary agitation for Home Rule. He was,
however, reproached, blamed, and suspected
by many Conservatives and by some Liberals,
as being indirectly connected with those
American Irish who had planned the assas-
sinations in the Phœnix Park. The murderers
were convicted chiefly on the evidence of an
able accomplice, James Carey, who some
months after was shot by a man named
O'Donnell. The latter was tried and executed
in England. When convicted O'Donnell be-
came violent, and was forcibly removed from
the dock shouting "God save Ireland." This
devout, harmless expression is, strange to say,
chiefly used by men from whose crimes the
unfortunate country has most need of deliver-
ance.

CHAPTER XV.

URING Mr. Gladstone's administration Earl Spencer was Lord Lieutenant. He showed firm resolution in trying to preserve order, while Mr. Gladstone declared in Parliament that crime and outrage followed the Land League. They were, therefore, vehemently opposed by the Home Rulers, headed by Mr. Parnell, who, without using the violent language of his supporters, seldom tried to restrain them. Alike unmoved by the indignation of opponents or occasional taunts of unscrupulous partisans, this imperturbable Protestant gentleman steadily animated the Irish Catholic democracy against the interests of his own religion and class with a practical success never hitherto attained. But his chief triumph, socially, intellectually, and politically, was to come, and was perhaps never expected even by himself. After the exten-

sion of the Franchise in 1884, Mr. Gladstone's
favourite measure, the admission of more Catho-
lic voters, naturally caused the return of more Irish
Catholic members, who followed Mr. Parnell's
leadership. It was proved, however, that in electing
his adherents, voters, in some places, were not per-
mitted to openly express any opinion against
the popular candidate. In the name of Irish
liberty generally, that of individuals was some-
times suppressed. It was dangerous in some
districts for voters to openly oppose Mr. Parnell's
nominees. The "guilt of rebellion" against the
Nationalist cause was occasionally more promptly
and severely punished than rebellion against legal
authority. The Irish majority, declaring their
cause was that of ultimate freedom, often sup-
pressed it among individuals to ensure its future
triumph for the generality. It was evident that
hitherto many who declaimed eloquently in
behalf of Irish liberty had no wish to extend
it to those differing from them. This conduct
may not prove insincerity, but it proves how
unable political enthusiasts often are to be con-
sistent with professed principles. The reproach-
ful threats uttered against "unworthy," "degene-
rate" Irishmen, "traitors to their country's cause,"

&c., occasionally accompanied by brutal assaults, proved that some, at least, of Mr. Parnell's supporters were forced as well as tempted to join a cause they were told was the National one.

This policy of mingled persuasion and menace gave Mr. Parnell a large majority of Irish members. Except a few constituencies, chiefly in Ulster, the Irish members supported him as their virtual dictator. The Ulster Protestants, however, mostly opposed him, disapproving the language, and apprehending the future conduct of many among his Catholic followers. Despite his declaration in Parliament that he was a Protestant and hoped to die one, probably an unpleasing avowal to Catholic supporters, the Irish Protestants generally distrusted him. Some suspected he was secretly a Catholic ; others thought him an atheist, promoting Catholic interests solely for political objects. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Spencer, however, seemed amazed and overcome at such increasing influence acquired by a man whom they had for years watched and even imprisoned as dangerous to the public peace. His great accession of strength, moreover, had resulted from their own measure, of Franchise extension. They accord-

ingly made a great change in their Irish
policy in 1885. Earl Spencer, though opposed
and threatened when Lord Lieutenant by Irish
Nationalists, followed his chief, Mr. Gladstone,
in changing his opinions. He expressed very
different views about Irish disaffection since
Mr. Parnell's success at recent elections.* The
smallness of the loyal Irish minority, which he
calls "a startling disclosure," also surprised him
more than might have been expected, consider-
ing his long residence in Ireland. Apparently,
Mr. Gladstone and he could not endure oppos-
ing even an anti-English majority any longer,
and they were now inclined to accede in some
measure to Mr. Parnell's views. Their Conser-
vative opponents, with some influential Liberals,
openly declared that they were yielding too much
to Mr. Parnell. On the other hand, they main-
tained that, having for the first time ascertained

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* "The Irish peasantry are also imbued with all the advanced
political notions of the American Republic, and are sufficiently
educated to read the latest political doctrines in the Press which
circulates among them. Their social condition at home is a
hundred years behind their state of political and mental culture.
They naturally contrast the misery of many Irish peasants with
the position of their relatives in the New World. This cannot
but embitter their views against English rulers, and strengthen
their leaning to national sentiments."—Lord Spencer's Preface
to "Handbook of Home Rule."

the opinions of the Irish people, they wished to make considerable concessions to the majority of whom Mr. Parnell seemed the representative. It was not ascertained how far Mr. Gladstone would have actually met Mr. Parnell's views. At the ensuing general election in 1886, the Conservatives obtained power under Lord Salisbury, through alliance with many alarmed and indignant British Liberals. The latter, headed by Lord Hartington, elder brother of the murdered Lord Frederick Cavendish, renounced a long allegiance to the aged Liberal chief, whose sudden change of policy they agreed with Conservatives in thinking most dangerous to the empire. To the general surprise of old friends and new supporters, Mr. Gladstone suddenly adopted many Irish Nationalist views. He apparently in old age read Irish history again in a different spirit from his earlier studies of it. He evidently views William the Third, the historical hero of British Liberals, as Ireland's enemy.* He seems to consider Ireland for the first time as a thoroughly

* " Ireland reached the nadir of political depression when, at and after the Boyne, she had been conquered not merely by an English force, but by Continental mercenaries."—Mr. Gladstone's Article in " Handbook of Home Rule."

Roman Catholic country.   He mentions the
Boyne battle as partly won by "foreign mercen-
aries," meaning some Dutch and German Prot-
estants who followed William, without mention-
ing Irish Protestants who had narrowly escaped
extirpation for following the British Liberal
example in supporting William the Third.

The Irish Home Rule or Nationalist press,
overjoyed at the apparent conversion or sur-
render of their former rulers, warmly declared
that Ireland should forgive their past severity in
maintaining British authority, and mentioned
them as persons who should be excused by the
Irish nation whom they had previously mis-
governed through ignorance.   The more violent
Nationalists, however, in America, represented
by O'Donovan Rossa and others, held aloof and
so far resembled their indignant foes, the Irish
Conservatives, in distrusting Mr. Gladstone.   But
the influence of this extreme party yielded in
Ireland altogether to the cool, resolute Mr.
Parnell.   He quietly, and with little comment
accepted the adhesion, or at least the more
friendly sentiments of the English Liberal
statesmen with whom he had for years waged
parliamentary warfare.   They had no longer to

station vigilant police at their doors for protection against the threatened violence of his admirers. From the date of their conversion to a Home Rule policy their personal safety incurred no risk in Ireland, except perhaps from a few vehement members of the loyal Protestant minority, who considered and called them traitors to the cause they had formerly upheld. Many eminent British Liberals and Radicals, including the poet Tennyson and the aged politician, John Bright, viewed Mr. Gladstone's changed policy with indignation, sorrow, and dismay. They argued, remonstrated, and reasoned in vain with him, but successfully with many distinguished Liberals throughout Britain.* These, calling themselves Liberal Unionists. headed by Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Bright, actually preferred to support

* " Sharers of our glorious past,
  Brothers must we part at last ?
  Shall we not thro' good and ill
  Cleave to one another still ?
  Britain's myriad voices call,
  Sons be welded each and all,
  Into one imperial whole,
  One with Britain heart and soul,
  One life, one flag, one fleet, one throne—
  Britons, hold your own."
  TENNYSON.

the Conservatives in power than to follow
their old chief, now cheered and surrounded,
somewhat like James II. in former days,
by eager Irish adherents, many hostile to
England, and all opposing English rule in Ire-
land.   His life will, doubtless, form a most in-
teresting and instructive history.   He represents
in himself the scholar, statesman, and philan-
thropist of the nineteenth century.   He has had
the rare advantage of knowing most of the
wisest men of his time in Britain, and through-
out Europe.   The knowledge acquired from their
intercourse his classic mind can well connect
with the wisdom bequeathed by the greatest
minds of antiquity.   His relaxations from poli-
tics are not usually to repose or pleasure, but the
exchange of one mental toil for another.   Some
of his learned works on classic literature, his
favourite subject, were composed as a relief
from the cares of public life.   His sympathy for
the freedom of the Ionian Islands from British
control, and his ardent assistance and favour to
Italian liberty, display the philanthropist and
statesman combined.   Yet, while the earnest
friend to Continental liberalism, he was never
a favourite with the extreme republicans of

Europe. While admiring Garibaldi, he favoured the rule of King Victor Emanuel instead of the republican views of Mazzini. Even in England his liberalism never satisfied the most extreme Radicals. His recent Irish policy, however, alienated him from many moderate Liberals, of whom he was not only the chief political leader, but the highest intellectual representative.* It was his singular fate in old age to be censured and distrusted by most men capable of appreciating him, and to be admired by many to whom his changed Irish policy was the only attraction.

* " Even Mr. Gladstone's idolaters stood aghast. We tell Mr. Gladstone, said the *Spectator* (August, 1887), that not all his magical hold over the people, not all the admiration for his genius and his sincerity, not all the worship felt for the loftiness of his moral character will save him at the polls, if it is once suspected that, in his enthusiasm for Ireland, he has abandoned his desire to see good government, the first condition of which is order, prevail within great Britain."—" Mr. Gladstone " : A Study by L. J. Jennings, M.P., p. 134.

CHAPTER XVI.

DURING some years of Conservative government, the success with which Mr. Parnell guided his party aroused admiration among his supporters and alarm among his opponents. His authority over Irishmen recalled that of O'Connell, but with the remarkable difference that he exercised an influence over the Irish in America and in the Colonies which hardly lay in O'Connell's power to acquire to the same extent. These two leaders were great contrasts in personal character. O'Connell, joyous, talkative, and warm-hearted, was a thorough representative of the southern Irishman, while Mr. Parnell, calm, cold, and reserved, was a man whom the Irish masses would probably have much disliked as an opponent. He seemed to have little in common with them, except their political cause. As

a Protestant landlord, moreover, it appeared the more extraordinary how he maintained firm control over a party most of whom were openly hostile to his religion and race. Yet for several years he was not only obeyed but trusted by the Irish Catholic masses with a devotion rarely shown by free men to any parliamentary leader. His opponents, therefore, beheld with dismay the apparent friendship, if not alliance, between him and Mr. Gladstone, when an unexpected event occurred to the consternation of the Home Rulers. Mr. Parnell had long calmly defied all political opponents, but for sudden mutiny among his followers he was evidently unprepared. It was a trial which proved too severe even for his resolute and hitherto undaunted spirit. The sudden revolt of his adherents against him, soon followed by his death, occasioned inevitable changes in Irish feeling. Yet they were entirely confined to his former partisans, his opponents viewing his policy and the rival leaders of his party with undiminished and about equal distrust. The revolt against his leadership was nominally, at least, caused by the result of a divorce trial in which he was corespondent. This case resulted in his making

no defence, thereby admitting the charge against him. After this event, his followers held meetings, at which it was first resolved to continue their allegiance to him, until a letter of Mr. Gladstone to his former Irish chief secretary, Mr. John Morley, declared that he could not now view Mr. Parnell, or act with him as, the recognised leader of a political party. This intimation, calmly expressed in the decisive peculiar language of which Mr. Gladstone is such a master, caused an immediate division among the parliamentary members of the Home Rule Party. Their majority took Mr. Gladstone's view, while a small yet energetic minority, headed by Mr. John Redmond, resolved to support Mr. Parnell's leadership, declaring that whatever his moral conduct might have been, his political career entitled him as much as ever to their confidence. The Irish Roman Catholic clergy almost unanimously declared against Mr. Parnell. When charged by his followers with deserting an ally whom hitherto they had steadily supported, they replied that they fully expected after the trial he would have voluntarily resigned the leadership of the Home Rule party, and that this disappointed expecta-

tion was the cause of their silence for some
time after its result was known. Meantime Mr.
Parnell's energetic resolve to continue his leader-
ship, despite his abandonment by a majority
of his followers, probably hastened his death.
He exerted himself desperately to retain their
allegiance, addressed meeting after meeting,
vehemently appealing to both friends and foes
to prove that he had ever justly forfeited
the confidence of his political party. To his
avowed astonishment, he found the majority
of his former adherents throughout Ireland
oppose his authority, while their new leaders
a lvised his retirement into private life, at least
for a time. Foremost among them were the
Roman Catholic clergy, headed by the bishops,
whose example was scrupulously followed
sooner or later by all the Roman Catholic
priests in Ireland. A few, who were at first
slow to abandon confidence in him, were
silenced or convinced by the example and
reasoning of their spiritual superiors. The
energy of the Catholic clergy, always so in-
fluential in Irish politics, was turned suddenly
against Mr. Parnell with much the same enthu-
siasm as hitherto they had shown in his favour.

To a man of his determined, resolute, if not
haughty spirit, this transformation was infi-
nitely more trying than the most vehement
opposition of consistent or recognised oppo-
nents. The enmity of the greater portion of the
British press, the indignant distrust of nearly all
his Irish fellow-Protestants, and the censure of
the most able British statesmen, he had alike
steadily defied for many years. He, indeed, never
seemed much affected, or even interested, far
less influenced, by anything that his consistent
opponents said or did. But the sudden opposi-
tion of the majority of his adherents, trans-
formed into vehement denouncing foes, entirely
owing to the divorce case, without reference to
political conduct, proved beyond his bodily or
mental powers to withstand. After hurrying
eagerly from place to place throughout Ireland
eloquently defending himself, and exhorting
his former followers, like a deserted commander,
to return to their obedience, while bitterly
denouncing what he thought their extraor-
dinary ingratitude, he died October, 1891,
leaving his party strangely disunited. The
previous scenes of reproach, complaint, and
recrimination in Committee Room No. 15 of

the House of Commons, Westminster, between
Mr. Parnell and his revolted followers were an
explanatory revelation. They showed a reso-
lute leader who, though a Protestant landlord,
claimed and had long enjoyed almost absolute
authority over a majority of Irish members, most
of whom eagerly opposed the religious and po-
litical interests of his own class. Chiefly through
his influence, energy, and perseverance, the House
of Commons was filled with Irish members, the
majority of whom acknowledged him their
leader, and certainly obeyed him with more
confidence or docility than any British Premier
had possessed for some time. His sudden de-
position, therefore, was all the more surprising
and irritating to a man of his imperious
resolute spirit. While he bitterly reproached
the revolted majority of his former adherents
for alleged desertion, they, supported by the
Roman Catholic clergy, replied that for a long
time they had steadily followed his guidance,
till the result of the trial made his position as
their leader a scandal or impossibility, and
earenstly advised his retirement, at least for a
while, from public life. At the same time they
practically transferred their confidence almost

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entirely to Mr. Gladstone by thus acting towards their late leader, in accordance with his intimation.   This veteran statesman's vast abilities displayed perhaps an unprecedented knowledge on almost every important subject, whilst his peculiar policy towards foreigners, especially Greeks and Italians, combine to make him probably the most remarkable statesman of this century.*   In his old age he was fated after a long eventful public life to encounter and finally control the eager passions, enthusiasm, and aroused energies of the Irish majority, both in and outside Parliament.   Although this majority was represented by active men young enough to be his sons or grandsons, he virtually triumphed over the increasing infirmity of his age by controlling them more and more while they were in the zenith of their health and strength. The proof of his mental supremacy appeared when, at his written intimation, the Irish leader was transformed from being a popular favourite loaded with thanks, praises and compliments, into an object of general reproach, and

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* " The most brilliant intellect that has been placed at the service of the State since Parliamentary government began."—Extract from Lord Salisbury's speech in the House of Lords, March 12th, 1894.

political degradation, and was even exposed to personal danger. Yet a minority, firmly adhering to him, exchanged with the revolted majority an amount of bitter recrimination which, in real intensity, equalled or exceeded their previous united charges against British rule and the tyranny of the landlords. This class, together with the Protestant minority, chiefly in Ulster, who had alike always desired the British connection, beheld the sudden division among their foes with surprise and relief, and to some extent sympathised with the fallen leader. This sympathy, however, effected no reconciliation between them, and merely arose from the idea that he was treated ungratefully by followers who owed their political advancement to him. This charge of ingratitude to Mr. Parnell, so strongly urged by himself and maintained since his death by devoted adherents, met with a firm, doubtless sincere, denial by the Irish majority, who in their conduct to the abandoned leader, as in most matters, were guided by their clergy. The latter steadily declared that, despite Mr. Parnell's abilities and great services to the policy they approved, yet his exposed immorality made him unfit to lead and direct the people

over whom his influence was vast and increasing. In these scenes of mutual recrimination a vast amount of talent and energy was practically wasted, or rather perverted. Unionists may naturally rejoice at a quarrel among formerly allied foes, but impartial persons must regret that probably no civilised country displays so much ability as Ireland, which is so often directed against its best interests. The Home Rulers censured each other's motives as well as conduct with the same bitterness they had before expressed against Unionists, and which the latter had expressed against them. Ireland continues so influenced by Party spirit that neither talent nor virtue is much respected in opponents. Impartial persons wishing to know the truth about political Irishmen would find it hard to ascertain in Ireland. Enthusiastic praise, or vehement censure, both alike unreasonable, are usually expressed about them by opposing parties. Walter Scott, in his noble historical novels, often makes heroes and heroines of people opposing his own opinions. His conduct in doing so is generally praised throughout Great Britain. In Ireland the perfect fairness of mind which alone enables men to appreciate

real merit in religious and political opponents,
would obtain comparatively little admiration or
approval. The demoralising effect of Irish
politics, through inducing men, like retained
advocates, to exaggerate the faults of oppo-
nents, and to hide, deny, or extenuate those of
partisans, is clearly proved in Ireland's history
and condition. Doubtless the same unscrupu-
lousness formerly prevailed in Britain and
throughout the Continent, but the vast exten-
sion of national intercourse and education has
greatly modified it, as shown by European
legislation generally. In Ireland, despite the
legal freedom granted to all British subjects
throughout the empire, the feelings of the
masses, both Catholic and Protestant, can
hardly be termed friendly to the liberty of
fellow-subjects in either religious or political
questions. Ireland became divided into three
parties, the Unionists comprised a Protestant
majority and a Roman Catholic minority, while
the majority of the Home Rulers, nearly all
Roman Catholics, selected Mr. Justin M'Carthy,
M.P., as their leader; and the minority, con-
sisting chiefly of Roman Catholics, chose Mr.
John Redmond as the successor to Mr. Parnell.

In most elections since Mr. Parnell's death the M'Carthyite party have defeated the Parnellites or Redmondites, who nevertheless continue to show an energy perhaps rather exceeding that of their Home Rule opponents. Their able newspaper, *The Daily Independent*, still advocates the late leader's policy, but there can be no doubt that it has ceased to rule the Irish majority in all details which are opposed by their clergy. The Protestant minority also, both Prelatists and Presbyterians, especially in country districts, are in politics more guided by their clergy than has long been the case in Great Britain. Although, doubtless, the advice of clerical politicians is usually well meant and often judicious, yet it can hardly be denied that it is sometimes more calculated to deter their respective denominations from religious changes or conversions, than to encourage or even sanction that tolerance of spirit so beneficial to all divided communities in every civilised country.

CHAPTER XVII.

IN examining Ireland's eventful history it seems still unequally divided between Catholics and Protestants, the former mostly opposing, the latter mostly supporting British rule.*   An eager contest, irrespective of religion, between landowners and occupiers is now, however, added to religious enmity, the bitterness of which, among many Irishmen, has scarcely diminished through the progress of time. The question of possible remedy for so much political and social evil naturally occurs to thoughtful minds.   The one demanded by the Irish majority is local government or Home

* "The Presbyterians of the north, who during the greater part of the eighteenth century formed the most dangerous element of discontent in Ireland, have been fully conciliated, but the great majority of the Catholic population, whose ancestors in 1800 had accepted the Union with indifference or with favour, are now arrayed against it."—Lecky's "Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," Vol. V.

Rule understood in more extended or limited
degrees. Yet in any degree this change must
diminish British authority and transfer it more
to Irishmen. It is right, therefore, to remember
that, even now, recollections of civil wars when
British power established the political supremacy
of the Protestant minority still inspire Irishmen
with a sectarian rancour and bitterness long un-
known throughout Great Britain. None abuse
or censure the Irish so violently as other Irish-
men. Were foreigners to inquire from Irishmen
about different parties in Ireland, they would
often hear opinions more bitter and unjust than
from informants belonging to any other country.
Such prejudices founded on historical enmity
have long ceased in Great Britain. Neither in
England nor Scotland are people's lives endan-
gered · by fellow-countrymen for religious or
political differences. The descendants of promi-
nent Jacobites and of their conquerors in 1715
and '45 view each other without a trace of his-
torical animosity. Yet the history of the more
remote civil war of 1688, still inspires deadly
vindictiveness between Irish Protestant and
Catholic peasants and artisans. In the trials
that follow "party" riots, which, but for soldiers

or police, would become pitched battles, each party blames the other exclusively. They often view such encounters as legitimate warfare, in which the more foes that are killed or disabled the better. Even some local newspapers evince the same spirit, and praise or blame for " party " interests alone with little regard for truth.

The different experiences of the divided Irish about each other in Ireland from those of co-religionists elsewhere partly explain their comparative bigotry. British Protestants no longer suspect Catholic fellow-countrymen. They are well acquainted, through political, commercial, and social intercourse, with an immense variety of religious denominations. The Jews live among them on friendly terms, equally loyal to established law, and thoroughly agree with Christian fellow-countrymen in maintaining the existing institutions of the land. Between Mohammedans, Brahmins, Buddhists, and Parsees, there is frequent intercourse with British Christians, under whose political rule all four denominations live prosperously in India. Though differing in religious belief, these denominations under Christian rule, neither persecute nor oppress each other. With the two great Christian

churches of Europe, the Roman Catholic and
the Greek, British Protestants are thoroughly at
peace. The latter is known chiefly to British
travellers, yet is represented in London by
Russian and Greek diplomatists and merchants.
The Roman Catholic is represented not only by
some British and Irish fellow-subjects, but by
Frenchmen, Spaniards, Austrians, and Italians.
Their intercourse with Protestant England, their
friendly political relations and extensive com-
mercial transactions, completely extinguish the
religious animosities, which alienated them dur-
ing the Middle Ages, and which civilised descen-
dants now study in history with mingled regret
and amazement. These European nations have
much in common with Englishmen Their coun-
tries are constantly visited by British travellers.
They abound in everything interesting to the
scholar, artist, theologian, and antiquarian. To
all these England offers special encouragement.
The illustrious Greeks or Romans of former
days, if revived, would find their names more
venerated, and their great minds more appre-
ciated in modern England than in the countries
where they lived.

England's insular position, her long domestic

peace, her unrivalled powers of communication with all the world, civilised and uncivilised, give her advantages of which she has well availed herself.* While boasting, it is to be hoped not unreasonably, of favouring all modern improvements, England has cultivated by unequalled study and research every possible acquaintance with illustrious minds of the most remote antiquity. Though many religious people throughout her vast empire naturally wish for unanimity in Christian belief, yet no idea of attempting conversion except by most peaceful means would now be desired by the British people or sanctioned by their government. The religious bitterness of past ages has long been condemned among them. In every sense its revival would oppose the interests as well as

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* "For the past half century the relationship existing between England and India has been the cause of considerable heart-searching and conflict of opinion. English rule has tended more and more to involve the conscientious discharge of the duties of our position towards the native races. There is no question now of the ruling race merely exploiting India to their own selfish advantage. Great Britain desires to share in the prosperity she has assisted in creating, it is true, but for the most part she shares indirectly, and in participation with the rest of the world. India sends her products to British markets, but she is equally free to send them elsewhere. Our gain tends to be a gain, not only to India, but to civilisation in general."— Kidd's " Social Evolution," chap. x.

feelings of the nation. But in Ireland, remote
and isolated, religious animosity is preserved as
a precious historical inheritance. People, believ-
ing themselves descended from ancestors who
tried to exterminate each other, are often more
proud of the example than eager to show in
their own conduct the progress of civilisation.
As before mentioned, men are legally punished
in Ireland for proclaiming themselves " good "
Catholics or " good " Protestants. Though an
apparently harmless boast, it is yet found too
much for Irish theological patience to endure in
some places without a riot. It must not be sup-
posed that these "party" riots in Belfast and else-
where are mere trials of strength among rough
athletes, without any wish to kill. Irish " party "
riots are really matters of life and death. The
eager use of deadly weapons proves that Irish
Catholics and Protestants imitate as well as
praise the deeds of ancestry, for which inevitable
civil war was both the cause and justification.
Such excuse no longer exists. Yet the mortal
hatred survives, restrained practically by civilised
improved laws, yet little diminished in the hearts
of supposed descendants. Even friendly fellow-
workmen or neighbours, at the religious war-cries

of the Pope or King William the Third, are instantly transformed into deadly foes. A year never passes in Ireland without loss or injury of life or limb wildly sacrificed at the invocation of these names by opposing fellow-Christians. Their usual ignorance of all religions but their own divisions of the same one, tends not only to preserve bigotry but to make them proud of it, as a proof of hereditary faithfulness and sincerity.

It is stated by the Nationalists or Home Rulers that, if British rule were withdrawn, Irishmen of all religions would become politically united without doctrinal change, and form a contented, peaceful nation. The fact of Mr. Parnell being a Protestant some declared a sufficient proof that no anti-Protestant legislation by an Irish Parliament would have his sanction. The few non-Catholics, however, who followed him, have hitherto not influenced many co-religionists. With rare exceptions, Irish Protestants wish to retain legislative union with Great Britain. In this desire nearly all the Irish Catholic gentry, and men of property, cordially agree. But they have even less influence over co-religionists than Protestant landlords retain over theirs. Ulster is in this and some

other respects unlike the rest of Ireland. In it
Protestant landowners and occupiers are often
united both in politics and religion. Between
them the rent question is the only cause of
dispute, although this is occasionally sufficient
to array them against each other at elections.
The temptation of rent reduction sometimes,
though rarely, unites Ulster Protestant and
Catholic tenants, who differ on almost all other
subjects. Yet, during this alliance, the wish for
" Ireland for the Irish," so often expressed by the
disaffected, usually reminds Protestant tenants
that they have more in common with fellow-
Protestant landlords than with Catholic fellow-
tenants. Ulster Catholics are naturally agreed
with their co-religionists throughout Ireland,
but they are more irritated than the latter by
constant collision with the Orangemen. In
the frequent riots occurring between them,
all other considerations vanish at the reli-
gious war-cries which recall historical enmity.
The Catholic clergy, especially in Ulster, are
often in a difficult position. They are ac-
cused by many Protestants of rather increas-
ing discontent among tenants, and exciting
them against landlords. On the other hand,

they have to sometimes guard their people not only from Protestant encroachment, but from infidel allies. While accepting democratic sympathy, they have to be on the watch against the scornful enmity which most European and American democrats express towards clerical influence.* They have to endure not only attacks on their faith by some Irish Protestants, but to resist the dangerous alliance of an irreligious philosophy.

Ulster recalls historical Ireland perhaps more forcibly than any other part of the country. In it Prelatists and Presbyterians have the largest landed property and the chief wealth. The Roman Catholics inhabit most of its mountain districts. In its large towns, however, they are brought into constant intercourse with Protestants, which, at certain anniversaries in their history, frequently occasions fatal collision. Between them there exists an historical enmity annually revealed in " party " riots, without any other cause of quarrel.† This feeling, after it has apparently subsided, still remains ready to

* See Carnegie's " Triumphant Democracy."

† "The Union has not made Ireland either a loyal or an united country. The two nations that inhabit it still remain distinct."— Lecky's " Ireland, in the Eighteenth Century," Vol. V., chap. xiii.

break out into deadly conflict at the first temptation. No matter how peaceable Ulstermen may seem towards one another, their religious divisions would at any political crisis arm old acquaintances, even friends, against each other with the hostility of former civil wars. The British government is usually blamed by both parties, directly they become excited by mutual hostility. Every year thousands of Ulstermen, armed with deadly weapons, without any personal quarrel, are compelled to keep the peace by the forces of the British government. When the immediate danger is over, each party often accuses the government of partiality. Neither seems ashamed of its own violence, while attributing all blame to opponents. The only point in which the violent members of both parties agree is in freely and vehemently blaming the government, which has kept them apart and prevented their injuring each other. In fact, the unpopularity of political justice in Ireland is even to this day only too evident. Although a great historical change appears in Irish Catholic officials, from judges to police, assisting Protestants in enforcing British laws among the Irish population, yet their alliance, like the

united interests of Protestant and Catholic land-
lords, does not affect the religious prejudices
of the community as much as might be ex-
pected. The former unite in upholding law, the
latter in resisting tenants' combinations, without
religious partiality or distinction. But these
alliances between Protestant and Catholic
officials and landowners have surprisingly little
effect on the religious animosities of their fellow-
countrymen. The truth seems to be that when
either Catholics or Protestants enforce the law
they often lose moral influence, while those who
are rebellious or show party spirit immediately
obtain it. It is evident that in Irish re-
ligious and political argument there is seldom
much reasoning. The remarkable eloquence of
the Irish is generally more devoted to eager
declamation, vehement invective, or enthusiastic
praise, than to calm discussion. Hence the
strong prejudices usually revealed in their
histories, poetry, sermons, newspapers, and
political speeches. Their ardour, zeal, and elo-
quence are rarely mingled with real argument.
The minds, even of many young Irishmen, seem
averse rather than willing to receive new im-
pressions. They adopt, or usually inherit, de-

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cided views, and employ all their powers of language in advocacy or denunciation, rather than in cool reasoning, which can alone lead to impartial judgment. Moderation in principle, freedom from prejudice, consideration for the views of others are often regarded with sincere contempt. Those who do not go entirely with their party, or rather with that section of the community to whom they belong, are usually suspected of cowardice or treachery, instead of admired for self-control or love of truth. Apparently home influences in Ireland and America produce or perpetuate hopeless enmity among the Irish. When in military, naval, or commercial occupations abroad, this " party-spirit " comparatively disappears. Irishmen, of all creeds and classes, are then engrossed by their immediate duties and interests, as well as enlightened by free association and sympathy with each other. On revisiting Ireland they again find themselves in the historical past. Former civil wars are constantly recalled by friends, clergy, newspapers, and politicians. These memories are revived, not in a spirit of calm inquiry or free discussion, but as incentives to renewed contest with.

alleged *hereditary* foes. At most parliamentary elections, even at less important ones, like those of town councillors, poor-law guardians, &c., historical enmity is usually revived as a guide for present conduct. Thus, Ireland still remains divided as formerly in religion, but more so than ever in an increasing variety of political opinions, ideas, and theories.*

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* A remarkable resemblance occurs in the allusions of two eminent British Liberals, historian and statesman, to Ireland in the present century. " When the historian turns to Ireland, his steps—to borrow the fine image used by a Roman poet—are on the thin crust of ashes beneath which the lava is still glowing."— Macaulay's " History of England," Vol. II.,.chap. vi. . Published in 1853. " The Irish question has never passed into history, for it has never passed out of politics. To take a simile from a catastrophe of nature less ruinous and less deplorable, the volcano that caused that eruption is still active : beneath the black crust the lava torrent burns, so that the incautious explorer who ventures near the crater finds the treacherous surface yield and himself plunged in the fiery marl of contemporary party strife."— Rosebery's " Life of Pitt," chap. xi. Published 1893.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE religious antipathies of the divided Latin Church remain among the masses in Ireland less changed probably than in any other European country, and seem specially transmitted in social ideas, customs, and obligations. The Protestant reformation, which in Great Britain is now regarded as a matter of history, calmly rejoiced at or regretted according to differing religious beliefs, in Ireland retains the interest and influence of comparative novelty. No historical event has impressed the home-staying Irish with the same fascination and tenacity. In a moral sense, however, its recollection often has an unfortunate effect. Men respecting each other, and on most friendly terms, are, during religious excitement, liable to become enemies and ally themselves with disreputable associates against those they honour and esteem owing to the revival of ancestral enmity. In a

social sense it is almost impossible to over-
estimate the evil effect of an influence which
can at any time array the most worthy and
respectable among a divided community against
each other, while forcing them into an un-
natural, yet firm, alliance with the most vicious
and dangerous of their own religious denomi-
nations. To recall, by songs, processions,
speeches, sermons, lectures, and newspaper arti-
cles, the religious civil wars of centuries ago
is still the popular delight of many home-
staying Irishmen, both Roman Catholic and
Protestant. While the better educated, and more
enlightened, persuade or flatter themselves that
religious bigotry is almost a thing of the past,
judging other people by their own feelings,
the general evidence of votes and applauded
speeches, even during the last few years, ap-
parently proves the contrary. Some clergymen
or men of business, while quietly devoted to
professional duties, are comparatively little
known, yet often when any of them lay aside
for a time their respective avocations by pub-
licly denouncing religious or political opponents,
they acquire a popularity with which previous
exemplary conduct had scarcely rewarded them

in the same degree.   Some Irish audiences,
caring comparatively little for moral advice,
become enthusiastic admirers when their reli-
gious or political prejudices are aroused, con-
firmed, and encouraged.   The spirit of former
civil wars has long expired throughout Great
Britain.   The descendants of historical ad-
herents to Protestant or Roman Catholic
monarchs have been long completely recon-
ciled.   The Irish rebellion of '98, chiefly
headed by Protestants though mainly supported
by Roman Catholics, was yet censured by the
majority of the Irish clergy of all denomina-
tions.   That extraordinary revolt passed away,
leaving comparatively slight traces on the Irish
character.   The long subsequent outbreak of
1848 and more recent Fenian conspiracies were
fomented and chiefly headed by men who, al-
though possessing talent, energy, and determina-
tion, can hardly be said to fairly represent either
part of the divided Irish population.   But the two
civil wars of the seventeenth century had rent
Ireland completely in twain.*   Their effects seem
permanently impressed on the national character.
While they prevailed, Roman Catholic or Prot-

* Lecky's " England in the Eighteenth Century."

estant rule was the cause of contest to the entire nation. No third party, no republican designs, and no foreign invaders, except as allies, in any way weakened the opposing influences of the two Irish Christian divisions. Religious predominance, represented by Roman Catholicism on the one side, and by differing forms of Protestantism united against it on the other, was then the avowed, and has ever since been the more secret, influence ruling the thoughts and guiding the policy of the Irish majority both among Roman Catholics and among Protestants. Since the political triumph of Irish Protestantism, the changes in Europe, involving alliances between Catholic and Protestant nations against a Catholic one, the overthrow of Napoleon the First's Empire, and many later political wars arraying co-religionists against each other, have much diminished religious bigotry throughout Europe. The more intelligent Irish, by travelling, education, or social and commercial intercourse, have in a great measure exchanged theological enthusiasm for more indulgent or enlightened views about all prevailing religions. Enlightenment about the religious opinions of different nations among some eminent public

men, Catholic and Protestant, has, however, rather misled them in forming estimates of Irish popular feeling. The recent instance of Mr. Parnell, a most practical man, who had travelled in many countries, proves this assertion. When suddenly opposed and denounced by the Irish Catholic clergy, his avowed astonishment at their combined influence, energy, and success against him was nearly as great as if he had been a stranger to Ireland. This sudden revulsion of feeling towards the popular, trusted leader appeared only in the Catholic population. Yet among the Irish Protestants the more moderate or enlightened were also astonished to find that in times of real or apprehended danger, the Orangemen uttering nearly the same sentiments and actuated by nearly the same spirit that existed two centuries ago, appear on the political scene claiming the confidence of their Protestant fellow-countrymen and of the British nation. In fact, despite the vast changes, improvement, and increasing knowledge evident throughout Europe, despite the numerous enlightened highly-educated Catholic and Protestant Irishmen of the present day, the home-staying Irish masses,

of both denominations, remain supremely, though often secretly, influenced, and directed by the spirit of the religious wars in the seventeenth century. They recall or present information to the Irish popular mind as attractive and as interesting for personal guidance as the most trusted newspaper or modern history. The results of the most recent votes, and the revelations of the latest parliamentary elections, if calmly examined, practically show in all essentials similar contending religious or dogmatic principles, as deep-rooted, popular and influential as ever in the warm hearts and impulsive minds of Ireland's divided population. The sentiments of Wolfe Tone in '98, who nominally represented and really influenced thousands of Irishmen, the subsequent ideas of Smith O'Brien and John Mitchel in 1848, and recently of Mr. Parnell, alike had their admirers, followers, and supporters throughout Ireland ; yet they have all disappeared, and it can scarcely be said that their opinions influence either a Protestant or a Catholic majority at the present time. But the religious wars, in the days of Cromwell and William the Third, ending in the battle of the Boyne and siege of

Limerick, have, to all appearance, indelibly impressed their pleasing or exasperating memories on the minds of the divided Irish.*

During times of popular excitement, which often in Ireland truly reveal existing, though occasionally dormant or suppressed, feelings, the mutual antipathy of Catholics and Protestants is vaguely connected with the differences between the British or Saxon and the Irish or Celtic races. This connection, though often believed in, is a virtual absurdity when some of the chief Irish Catholic families, inheriting ancient historic names, support British authority while some of Protestant faith and British descent oppose it. Yet, as a general rule, the Irish popular feeling remains little changed in the unreasoning animosity actuating, it is to be feared, both Catholic and Protestant majorities against each other. This animosity, when attentively examined, will be often found quite independent of any personal affront, in-

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* "The name of Cromwell even now acts as a spell upon the Irish mind, and has a powerful and living influence in sustaining the hatred both of England and Protestantism."— Lecky's "England in the Eighteenth Century," Vol. II.   If Cromwell's memory retains this effect, that of William the Third inevitably does the same, both these rulers of Britain successively representing the unpopular triumph of political Protestantism in Ireland.

jury, or cause of complaint. Historic, vague, and one-sided traditions are imparted to credulous hearers, sometimes by the clergy of both parties, and often by men of talent or influence. In these unjust or ignorant versions of Irish history, each religious or political division is assured that it exclusively comprises all true and right principles, while little of the kind is to be found among, or expected from, religious and political opponents. The absurdity, yet popularity, of such intolerance is so surprising, that few British statesmen or travellers in this enlightened age could probably believe in its full intensity. But the experience of constant residents in Ireland, especially in parts inhabited by a religiously divided population, finds the historic animosity of centuries very little altered. It appears not merely in the excited words of ignorant enthusiasts nor in the fanciful thoughts of lonely, dreamy thinkers, but in the eager eloquence, firm belief, and daring self-denying energy of men in the full enjoyment of those bodily and mental powers, which philanthropists might believe were granted by their common Creator for nobler purposes than those to which party spirit restricts them. Accordingly throughout the vast British empire there could scarcely be

found more inveterate enemies to its author-
ity, interest, and welfare, than exist among some
of its Irish Catholic subjects.*   This fact is the
more surprising when in the very same section
of Irishmen are found some of its most valuable
and trustworthy subjects, as proved by their con-
duct in the army, the navy, the police, and on
the judicial bench.   Yet these loyal Irish Catho-
lics are often forced to hear British rule most
bitterly condemned or reviled by their co-
religionists and fellow-countrymen.   These ex-
traordinary contrasts of public feeling in Ireland
are hardly comprehensible to those who have
not personally known the country by actual and
long residence.   The author of these pages, a
constant resident in Ulster, believes that the real
explanation of practical Irish politics lies chiefly
at least in the evil influence of party spirit, reli-
gious and political, on the national character.†

* "There is no fact in modern history more memorable than
the contrast between the complete success with which England
has governed her great Eastern Empire with more than two
hundred million inhabitants, and her signal failure in governing
a neighbouring island which contains at most about three
million disaffected subjects."—Lecky's "Ireland in the Eight-
eenth Century," Vol. V., chap. xiii.

† "Party spirit tends so much to lower the moral standard
that it makes men regard with less abhorrence what is wrong,
not only on their own side, but even on the opposite.   Their
feelings towards those of the opposed party are very much those
of a soldier towards the soldiers of the hostile army.   He does

Its popularity, even among people who only lose or suffer by it, is astonishing. Political speakers, writers, or preachers, who freely indulge in it, sometimes almost trust to it alone, for the enjoyment of favour, influence, or popularity. Language and theories about religious or political opponents, which in Britain would be considered absurd exaggeration, disgraceful to speaker or advocate, are usually rewarded by applause, trust, and confidence. Perhaps few, if any countries, are more misunderstood than Ireland, except by those who, from residence or connection, have personal knowledge of it. The different religious denominations, without being deceitful, are self-controlled or self-repressed, even in youth, to a degree which often quite conceals their real feelings. In places inhabited by a divided population, who for a long time may have had no dispute, it is surprising to find that at any excitement, such as parliamentary election or anniversary celebration, an ap-

not think the worse of them for recklessly plundering, ravaging, and slaughtering, just as he would do in their place. The most thorough-going partisans attribute to everyone who is supposed a member of the opposite party, such conduct as is in reality unjustifiable, without thinking at all the worse of him for it. It is only what they would do in his place, and though they dislike him for *being of the opposite party*, they dislike him for *nothing else.*"—Whately's "Annotations to Bacon." Essay 51.

parently sudden change occurs in their conduct,
so violent and dangerous, that a stranger to
Ireland could hardly believe they were the
same people. Without the least personal
quarrel, orderly, peaceable men, often friendly
neighbours, are transformed into abusive,
dangerous enemies to each other. Irish history
is recalled in vehement sermons and irritating
speeches, even in bitter newspaper articles.
These almost avowedly one-sided versions are
without question believed and trusted. Elo-
quence and enthusiasm unite to pervert historic
truth for party purposes, and by every legal,
sometimes illegal, means to prevent all chance
of fair reasoning or discussion. During such
excitement, which would be ridiculous if it were
not dangerous, the police, or the military, have
to maintain peace between suddenly enraged
fellow-Christians, trying to kill or injure one
another. When the immediate excitement is
over, there usually follow law-suits, fines, and
imprisonments, after which the distracted popu-
lation again become unwillingly peaceful towards
each other, seldom regretting their outrageous
conduct, while eagerly trying to throw blame on
the laws or government, that have prevented
their gratifying ancestral animosity of which

they are proud rather than ashamed. A state of feeling remains among Christian fellow-subjects living within a short distance from their shores which would recall to the British people the spirit Walter Scott censures and deplores in historical novels. The religious and political antagonism he describes between opposing Christians and fellow-countrymen during former times in Great Britain, still exists in Ireland, often, indeed, nearly devoid of the noble qualities which Scott combines with it, and certainly without any romantic interest. It usually presents the odious, unfortunate spectacle of a Christian people embittered against each other often without personal reason, yet deterred from all idea of permanent reconciliation by those very persons who it might be expected would be the first to encourage or morally enforce it.*

* " What are your opinions upon religious subjects? Are they such as agree with the notions of old Lady This or Mrs. That, who are the patronesses of the village? If not, woe betide you ! You will be shunned by the rest of the society, thwarted in your attempts to do good, whispered against over evangelical bohea and serious muffins. The clergyman who partakes of the muffins and bohea will very possibly preach sermons against you from the pulpit. It is the most priest-ridden of countries. Catholic clergymen lord it over their ragged flocks as Protestant preachers, lay and clerical, over their more genteel co-religionists. Bound to inculcate peace and goodwill, their whole life is one of enmity and distrust."—Thackeray's "Irish Sketch Book," chap. xxix.

CHAPTER XIX.

IN comparing Ireland's mixed population of Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians, it is evident that the first named are chiefly influenced by their clergy, even in politics. To explain this fact it must be remembered that, however moderate men of all parties may deplore the violent language and unfairness which some Irish Catholic priests display in political views, they yet possess peculiar claims to the gratitude of their own people, and to the respect, though not the confidence, of other religious denominations. On them falls most of the real hard work of the country in religious duties. They appear, indeed, at their worst in politics, and at their best in the steady, practical zeal of lives devoted to those objects for which they abandon many of the attractions and pleasures of civilised society. Thus the

position of Irish Catholic priests in politics is a strange and difficult one. They are said to step out of their line, and neglect religious duties when discussing political questions. But when there are so few educated Catholic laymen in proportion to their numbers, they may plead that they understand even the political interests of their people better than Protestants can be expected to do ; yet their speeches rarely display fairness towards opponents, their minds seem influenced, irritated, and embittered by the intolerant language which they hear and which they utter. Readers of their political speeches would sometimes infer that Irish priests were cruel and unscrupulous from their language ; when, in conduct, they are usually far superior to the sentiments they express and apparently wish to inspire. On the other hand the Orange party, composed of Episcopalian and Presbyterian Protestants, seem from their speeches and writings to rather ignore the events of the present day and to live in the past. They recall, by all possible means, the scenes, and try to perpetuate the feelings, which existed in full force about two centuries ago. Again they fancy themselves fighting for a

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Protestant against a Roman Catholic government. They celebrate with triumphant joy their ancestral victories, and, as the sovereigns of Ireland have ever since been Protestant, they call and believe themselves almost exclusively loyal in principle, whereas their ancestral triumph and even origin are the result of successful revolution, and the permanent victory of rebellion over an established monarchy. That this rebellion was morally justifiable, even glorious, is a matter of opinion, and quite another question. But it should never be forgotten that while the Orangemen now applaud the principles of loyalty and warmly denounce rebellion among Christians of other denominations, their own ancestors firmly advocated the cause of Revolution against established regal authority, denouncing its adherents as aiders and abettors of an odious tyranny.

It is remarkable that the history of the old civil war between the rival kings, James and William, far surpasses in interest among the Irish all subsequent wars and republican revolts. The celebration of the Boyne battle still arouses the most acute and lively feelings of triumph and exasperation. Some Roman Catholic priests

persist in terming Protestants hereditary enemies, while some Protestants, both lay and clerical, practically ignore the undeniable fact of the loyalty of Irish Roman Catholics in the army, navy, police, and other branches of the public service, and persist in believing that only Protestants should be trusted or relied on by a Protestant sovereign * While moderate Protestants and moderate Roman Catholics wish to live at peace with each other, the violent of each denomination alike desire a supremacy incompatible with political justice. It might be naturally expected that the moderate of both parties, considering the spread of general education, and the lessons of history, would have much influence in restraining and even controlling fanatical and ignorant partisans, yet the reverse is often the case. Party violence, intemperate language, and gross injustice towards opponents, are often, if not usually, thought

* " In the Catholic body the landed gentry, a majority of the Catholics in the secular professions, and an important and guiding section of the Catholic middle class, are as much attached to the Union as the Protestants, while the peace of the country has been mainly kept during its many agitations by a great constabulary force largely drawn from the ranks of the Catholic peasantry."—Lecky's " Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," Vol. V., chap. xiii.

gratifying proofs of religious zeal and political sincerity,* and it often happens that Protestant and Roman Catholic clergy, who quietly do their duty, and who are seldom heard, save when teaching it to others, are comparatively little regarded, while controversial or political preachers varying their sermons by bitter allusions to the opinions of others, instead of being restrained by the disapproval of their hearers, are trusted as political and historical guides. Many among their audience, who have no desire to hear their own conduct condemned, are attracted, and even dangerously gratified when praised and glorified at the expense of " rebellious and superstitious " Catholic or " heretic and tyrannical " Protestant neighbours. Some among the Irish clergy seem at times both the

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* " Party corrupts the conscience, by making almost all virtues flow, as it were, *in its own channel.* Zeal for truth becomes gradually zeal for the watchword of the party ; justice, mercy, benevolence are all limited to the members of that party, and are censured, if extended to those of the opposite party, or (which is usually even more detested) those of no party. Candour is made to consist in putting the best construction on all that comes from one side, and the worst on all that does not. Whatever is wrong in any member of the party is either boldly denied in the face of all evidence, or vindicated, or passed over in silence, and whatever is or can be brought to appear wrong on the opposite-side, is readily credited, and brought forward and exaggerated."—Archbishop Whately's " Annotations to Bacon's Essays."

leaders and the followers of their people. Instead of being always above their ignorant prejudices, they sometimes sink to their level, though nominally their teachers, guides, and advisers. At the present time of peace and unprecedented information about the history of the world an impartial reader may profitably study the various religions of mankind during ancient, mediæval, and existing times in a comparative spirit. If this examination is free from doctrinal prejudice, it will be found that some Jewish Rabbis, Mohammedan Mollahs, and Christian clergy have alike in different countries and periods distrusted those tolerant principles now legally established in most civilised lands. Yet to them they all in different parts of the world owe their present security from the persecuting effects of former intolerance resulting in legalised injustice.* Sceptical or free-thinking historians like Voltaire, Hume, and Gibbon, with their admirers, have accordingly attacked all clerical influence with a bitterness which more modern and, therefore, more learned, writers condemn.† But this condemnation is no longer expressed in the language of irritated bigotry or offended

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* Lecky's " Rationalism," Vol. II.
† Macaulay's " Essay on Ranke's History."

orthodoxy. It is the calm, discriminating censure of thoughtful, free minds, willing to do justice to the occasionally noble motives or designs even of intolerant, unreasoning persecutors. This intellectual power of appreciating moral merit in the most inveterate opponents is specially observable in the historians of this century. No longer personally irritated or endangered, like literary predecessors, by bigoted foes, they are now able to do justice to their motives, while deploring their conduct. It might, however, have been expected in this enlightened century, when nearly all religions and nations are brought together in comparatively friendly intercourse, that religious intolerance would disappear, at least among men of intelligence or influence. Yet Irish history during the last few years displays it in some places in full intensity. The most recent history revealed, especially at Parliamentary elections and political meetings, displays the historic antipathy of the divided Latin Church, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, nearly as intense and influential as ever. The usual restriction of clerical sympathy or interest, almost avowedly to *denominational limits*, is a most regrettable fact in Irish history and politics, even to the present day.

CHAPTER XX.

IN Scott's historical novels and poems there are many descriptions resembling the relative positions still held by the clergy and laity in Ireland. His descriptions are usually during times of civil war, yet the feelings secretly animating many of the divided Irish, though partially suppressed, are more like those preserved by the vivid recollections of religious warfare, than those produced by the calm influence of a tolerant peace. Indeed, in some sermons, political speeches, and newspaper articles, the blessings and advantages of the existing tranquillity are sometimes ignored and even denied. Men are often exhorted to recall with pride, emulation, and gratitude, the deeds and sentiments of ancestral civil war, and to view the present peace rather as a time of comparative sloth and religious apathy, than as a priceless worldly

blessing which should be devoted to the pro-
gressive enlightenment and amelioration of the
people that enjoy it. This practical contempt
for peaceful thoughts, habits, and pursuits, is
still rather popular than otherwise in Ireland.
In it the enthusiastic energy and excitement
aroused by party spirit, give that state of mind a
general and dangerous attraction. It is therefore
sometimes a mistake to term the Irish unhappy
owing to their bitter religious and political dis-
putes. If so, they would probably show a more
general desire to soften asperities and diminish
vehemence. But, apparently, they are only too
well satisfied with a state of feeling which per-
petuates irritation. To praise, magnify, and exalt
the good men, or good deeds of one party to the
exclusion or avowed denial of all the good men
or good deeds of the other, is a constant practice,
and often thought morally justifiable among each
section of opposing parties in Ireland. Under its
influence they resemble each other more than
they perhaps could believe possible. This fact
is well known to the moderate and reasonable of
all parties alike. Thus men of moderate views,
who try to check bigotry, reason with prejudice
and enlighten ignorance, are often reproached,

scorned, or disparaged by co-religionists or political partisans, and distrusted or strangely misunderstood by opponents. But when "party" encounters occur, ending in death or severe injury, moderate men are then usually sought to bear the responsibility, sometimes the odium, of peaceful arbitration, or of fixing legal penalties or of pronouncing judicial censure on those who had previously despised their counsel and scorned their advice. Yet when the immediate necessity for their advice or action is over, men of moderate views are usually relegated to their former position in the contemptuous estimate of all parties for preserving that freedom from prejudice, and from all "party" connexion which had before made them specially reliable and trustworthy. They are, in fact, used and consulted in times of extremity, and yet have little influence or popularity afterwards. They are seldom admired or imitated by any large section of their fellow-countrymen. Whether among clergy or laity, moderate men in Ireland rarely attract interest or popularity, while violent political speakers, or intolerant preachers, often permanently establish themselves, not only in the avowed respect of their own party, but

in the secret esteem of opponents. The former exultingly applaud them as champions of their own opinions, while the latter often secretly wish that so much admirable spirit and energy were devoted to the vindication of theirs. If the sentiments revealed in political speeches, controversial sermons and "party" newspapers are calmly examined, the conduct of their believers in riots and outrages seems, to a great extent, logically explained. When comparatively ignorant people hear, or understand, from what they think good authority, that Catholic or Protestant neighbours are not only their deadly foes, but *entirely to blame for being so*, the public safety is more really endangered by the teachers than by the taught. It is often a mistake to suppose a town or district particularly turbulent or vindictive. They are usually at the mercy or moral disposal of a few influential inhabitants. When such persons use language likely to arouse hatred in the neighbourhood, no matter how peaceful they may be themselves, it is they rather than their believers who are really to blame for those violations of law, for which the latter alone incur legal penalty. Indeed, these violations are often the natural result of such

teaching, which, if true, would almost justify or at least render them less inexcusable. It is not easy for ignorant excitable men to see others, whom they are told wish to kill or rob them, without wishing or trying to prevent their ever being able to do either. The moral guilt of many an assault or riot in Ireland rests with men who are never punished, and who think themselves always in the right, but are more wise and self-controlled than their implicit, though imprudent followers. The mass of the Irish population, sincere Roman Catholics, are therefore induced and persuaded to distrust Protestant fellow-countrymen by two powerful and vehement factions. The intemperate of their own denomination constantly remind them of their past sufferings in history, resulting from political defeat and subjection, utterly ignoring every sin of their own, and representing them as injured innocents oppressed by ruthless conquerors. The intemperate among the Protestants support these misrepresentations indirectly by exulting in the recollection of the defeat and humiliation of their foes; thus memories of former injuries inflicted and received

by those who have been dead for centuries
are constantly revived by both parties to
prevent apparently all chance of reconcili-
ation among supposed descendants. In no
country is the same extraordinary conduct
pursued—even in Scotland, though the scene
of a terrible war between England and the
Highland population, the memory of the Cul-
loden defeat is never publicly revived, and its
mention excites not the slightest triumph or
depression among the descendants of the con-
querors or conquered. Yet this battle, stained
by acts of deliberate cruelty on the part of the
English victors, took place nearly a century
later than that of the Boyne, the celebration of
which, to this day, causes bloodshed in Ireland.

In the midst of national peace and compara-
tive security from foreign enemies, the history
of the Irish civil war still rouses the spirit of
mortal hatred between men who have never
personally injured each other. Again, one
party conjures up Protestant ancestors slaugh-
tered by hordes of the native Irish, while
the other party imagine they see their clergy
massacred or banished, and their lands divided
among heretic conquerors. During a time of

peace, the horrors of the past are frequently appealed to, and, it may be said, invited to again rouse and inflame those evil passions which the spirit of Christianity strives to abolish, and all wise legislation endeavours to restrain. Scarcely any recognition of personal merit, or noble feeling in religious or political opponents seems permitted by the contending parties in Ireland, at least in their political speeches and writings. All admiration, all respect, and nearly all consideration appear exclusively reserved for partisans. They are always in the right, and opponents always in the wrong. " Party spirit," Archbishop Whately observes,* " has a tendency to pardon anything in those who belong to the party and nothing in those who do not." This eminent man never wrote a truer sentence, and it is one which specially applies to the present as well as to the past state of Ireland among the comparatively uneducated classes. The more that Irish political and religious discords are examined, the more inexcusable the spirit that pervades them must appear to any thinker possessing historical knowledge.

* " Annotations to Bacon's Essays."

Though Protestant and Catholic clergy and their respective laity may perform almost every Christian duty towards each other, it by no means follows that they are either learning or teaching it towards other denominations. It sometimes appears as if each thought that their Christian duties were restricted to their own denomination, and that outside its limit there was little reason to feel sympathy, extend charity, or perform duty. The question, therefore, for just men to ask of both parties is, what treatment are they willing to extend to *opponents*, and what are their real feelings, wishes, and designs about them? It is comparatively easy and often advances personal interests to be friendly, kind, charitable, and generous to co-religionists, and to political partisans. A common worldly interest in such cases often makes the moral duties profitable as well as agreeable. Even unconsciously, the personal pride, self-importance, ambition or private interests of men may often cause their being generous, forgiving, and kind to those allied with them in religious or political views. Thus the surest tests of men's sincere love of justice and capacity for appreciating its value

or true meaning are their real feelings and wishes about *religious or political opponents.* These are tests which many influential and even excellent Irishmen seem hitherto unable or unwilling to stand, yet it is by them alone that a consistent love of rational liberty, and of just principles, can be really proved.

When men allow their sympathies to be mainly guided, ruled, aroused, and restrained by religious partialities or prejudices, their conduct and sentiments are soon at the command of party spirit. They then often view men who commit the same offences as pardonable, if not praiseworthy, or as inexcusable and deservedly punishable according to their several religious or political professions. It is only too evident amid the divided Irish populace, that the liberty which some of both parties profess to desire, is that of being able to withhold it from the other. Hence the present time of comparative peace and justice is often denounced or despised as contemptible, mean, and apathetic by the intolerant of both parties. They recall Roman Catholic and Protestant triumphs over each other with admiring interest. Their speeches, sermons, and popular

songs are usually devoted to extolling times of warfare as glorious, patriotic, and ennobling, while its attendant horrors, crimes, and miseries are recklessly or artfully ignored. The blessings of peace and the useful purposes to which such a period might be devoted, are often practically denied, and its influence indirectly depreciated as causing a state of religious apathy and political degradation.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE peaceful, intellectual discussions about history, religion, and politics so long prevalent in Britain, are hitherto little known throughout Ireland. There is, in fact, little *real* freedom of thought or expression in it, *which is sanctioned by popular approval.* To implicitly follow the guidance of certain leaders is generally believed a patriotic, religious duty not to be doubted or questioned by any hesitation or reluctance of the private judgment. Should such hesitation or reluctance be perceived, the person who shows either is likely to be censured or distrusted if not endangered, and popular feeling is usually aroused against a lukewarm, suspected partisan, instead of in behalf of a friendless advocate of personal freedom of thought. Each party in Ireland often condemns a persecuting spirit in opponents,

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while encouraging and admiring it among them-
selves. The historical ignorance of both parties,
even among those comparatively well educated
in other studies, probably causes this extra-
ordinary injustice in religious and political
views. This peculiar ignorance seems little
enlightened as yet despite the vast extension
of general information upon other subjects.
Even the National schools, from which so much
knowledge was expected, and much has been
derived, are avowedly closed to History. It is
almost the only subject specially excluded from
the study of Ireland's rising population, yet the
exclusion of a subject so important and so in-
volved with most others of importance, greatly
diminishes the moral value and practical utility
of all education. Its intentional, and, as it were,
unnatural omission amid increasing knowledge
about other subjects, produces the perplexing
result in scholars well informed, skilful, intelli-
gent, accurate, and enlightened about most
matters, yet viewing each other's religious and
political opinions with prejudices scarcely less
unjust than those of the Middle Ages. This
ignorance in the midst of light; this amazing
amount of bigotry, prejudice, and one-sided

reasoning embittering young Irish fellow-Christians against each other, with dangerous and sometimes fatal consequences, still remains the chief perplexity of Ireland's rulers as well as the chief danger of its most peaceable inhabitants. Religious and political history, when fairly presented, produces perhaps a more enlightening influence on men's minds than any other study: To promote or establish a love of rational freedom and mutual forbearance, it is almost indispensable. Its moral value in arousing a spirit of justice, liberality, and moderation among men of different religions and politics can hardly be over-estimated. It proves beyond all possible doubt that men should sometimes esteem opponents and distrust or despise partisans without being induced to alter personal convictions on religious and political subjects.

To its impartial study and comprehension much of the moral greatness of the British empire is really due. It has aided immensely to enable that empire to rule with a success and, generally speaking, a beneficence unsurpassed in history, millions of subjects composed of almost every variety of religious and political

P 2

opinions. Wherever, throughout its vast boundary, persecution is attempted, the remedy derivable from impartial laws is generally procurable. The intellectual as well as political advantages of British rule throughout the world are more generally acknowledged during the latter half of this century then ever.*
It is becoming more and more supported and praised by the races whom it subjected by military conquest. In India, the most extensive and valuable of all the British possessions, its Brahmin, Buddhist, Parsee, and Mohammedan inhabitants are alike more peaceful than ever under British authority. These varied denominations are improving in educational enlightenment to an extent never known before, under their own governments. Their differing religions, so long the cause of enmity and misrepresentation, are now being examined by Christian scholars with impartial justice as well as profound learning. Men who know all that can be known of the Jewish Old Testament and of the Christian Gospel no longer allow belief in them to prejudice their minds when

* Lecky's "Empire," Kidd's "Social Evolution," and Lyall's "Asiatic Studies."

examining the faiths of Zoroaster, of the Brahmins, of the Buddha, and of Mohammed. These illustrious religious teachers, whom ignorant bigotry could only term impostors, are now appreciated by learned Christians as men of virtue and holiness. The most pious among their votaries, therefore, are becoming more friendly to Christian Britain than their ancestry ever were or had any reason to be. Yet of all civilised countries under its rule, Ireland still seems the least inclined to avail itself of the educational advantages of historical instruction. The fond idea that modern improvements in locomotion, travelling, and general communication, would enlighten religious or political bigotry, is greatly dispelled by the moral state of Ireland. People who well understand railways, telegraphs, and other recent inventions are sometimes as ignorant of historic truth, and consequently as unjust and prejudiced as their ancestors were during remote centuries. It is possible, indeed, that men, ignorant of one important subject, yet enlightened in many, may be more hard to convince or reason with than those whose thorough ignorance might render them less

opinionated, less self-confident, and more in-
clined to learn from others. When people feel a
just self-reliance about knowledge they really
possess, they may be the more averse to fair
reasoning or instruction on a subject which,
omitted in their educational course, they have
formed decided notions about from ignorant or
prejudiced persons.

The abusive language uttered against the
Pope or Papacy, the classing of Roman Catho-
licism with heathenism or idolatry, and the
reckless condemnation of all Protestantism
continue to embitter the divided Christians
of Ireland. Sincere men who thus think,
usually judge from those few votaries who
are within the narrow limits of their personal
knowledge. They virtually ignore the fact,
either through ignorance or prejudice, that
there have always belonged and still belong
to both denominations, some of the best and
most enlightened men who have ever done
honour to their common Creator. Although
such language may be only occasionally heard,
there is too much reason to believe that the
state of mind which causes or sanctions it,
is steadily prevalent, even when circumstances

may not arouse its open expression. Thus the popular language and conduct during election contests or party excitement are not so much exceptional cases, as they are true revelations of a state of public feeling always existing, though occasionally dormant, but ever ready to reappear in deeds fore-shadowed by words of unchristian violence, hatred, and brutality.* Yet to eagerly oppose or warmly denounce intolerance so deeply rooted for centuries in Ireland's population would likely only arouse irritation. It exists throughout Ireland, among many well-meaning, and, in other respects, sensible men,† and is chiefly founded on traditions of ancestral

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* "The effects of party spirit in lowering the moral standard are gradual and usually rather slow. But it often happens on the occasion of some violent party contest, that an *apparently sudden* change will take place in men's characters, and we are surprised by an unexpected outbreak of unscrupulous baseness, cruel injustice, or extravagant folly."—Whately's "Annotations to Bacon's Essays."

Those words so exactly describe party spirit in Ireland that they well merit the attention of all connected with that country.

† "To have an 'opinion about Ireland' one must begin by getting at the truth, and where is it to be found in the country? Or, rather, there are two truths, the Catholic truth and the Protestant truth. The two parties do not see things with the same eyes. I recollect a Catholic gentleman telling me that the [Protestant] Primate had forty-three thousand *five hundred* a year. A Protestant clergyman gave me chapter and verse the

heroism and suffering which they find danger-
ously fascinating to recall, to celebrate, and
to bewail. These traditions, instead of being
examined or studied in a spirit either of historic
truth or religious charity, are, as it were, pur-
posely screened from the calm, impartial en-
lightenment certain to result from fair historical
inquiry. They are still ignorantly preserved in
partial narratives or obscure legends, often in
popular songs, all alike incapable of imparting
or perhaps understanding the invaluable princi-
ples of historic truth and justice. It is, however,
the wisest course to attempt the discouragement
of religious and political intolerance with patient
forbearance, and to suppress, if possible, all lan-
guage of even just indignation which its conse-
quences may not unreasonably arouse. Thus
the practical duty of all men of education and
right feeling in Ireland is to strive alike by ex-
ample and precept to enlighten the minds and
elevate the thoughts of those among whom

history of a shameful perjury and malversation of money on the
part of a Catholic priest ; nor was one tale more true than the
other. But belief is made a party business ; and the receiving
of the Archbishop's income would probably not convince the
Catholic any more than the clearest evidence to the contrary
altered the Protestant's opinion."—Thackeray's " Irish Sketch
Book," chap. xxxii.

their lot is cast, in public life, if health and
talents permit; in private, if such advantages
are denied them, and thus the common sense,
even of the ignorant, may be, in some cases,
gradually inclined to a more consistent per-
formance of Christian duty in political as well
as in private life. Individual liberty is often
opposed in many parts of Ireland by those
who think they admire its principle. Men pro-
tected by existing laws delight in forming strict
arbitrary, even tyrannical, associations among
themselves for obtaining not merely influence,
but actual power, over their fellow-countrymen.
In the name of freedom, Irishmen *in their own
country* often virtually deny it to each other by
enacting, as it were, laws within laws, and en-
forcing their observance by a system of vexa-
tious penalties. They seem so fond of governing
that they dislike leaving each other alone in the
enjoyment of real liberty of thought. Freedom
of religious or political opinion in its broad
sense may be pronounced most unpopular, if not
dangerous, among many, perhaps most, of the
divided Irish. They accordingly inflict social
penalties of greater or less severity on those they
think lukewarm partisans and co-religionists by

treating them with insolence and contempt
owing to differences in matters of opinion, and
totally irrespective of conduct and character.
People born under free laws which they have
never violated, are thus exposed to a social per-
secution which, during political or religious
excitement, may endanger life or property.
Public feeling throughout Great Britain has for
a long period condemned enforcing unwritten
laws by any kind of penalty. The most extreme
British politicians would utterly disavow the
tyrannical spirit which is still actually popular
among many of the divided Irish whenever t'·eir
religious or political prejudices are aroused; and
the history, even of this century, proves how easy
it is to arouse either. A few vehement political
speeches, or intolerant sermons, will disturb the
peace of a whole neighbourhood for a long time
after they are uttered. While enthusiastic ora-
tors thoroughly enjoy the applause of credulous
audiences, the more just or free-minded are often
forced by their influence into quarrels, and hostile
combinations, contrary to both their judgment
and inclination. Though the fervent eloquence
of the Irish is usually admired, its effect in their
own land often does more harm than good to its

practical interests. There never was, perhaps, a Christian country so civilised in many respects where eloquent language has so often advocated or inspired the most selfish, tyrannical, and uncharitable conduct among a people conscientiously and with every moral right divided in religious and political opinions. May the future prove that all parties have learned forbearance, wisdom, and charity from the lessons of History. Without its impartial examination this result cannot be expected ; and in the earnest desire to aid such inquiry this work is written.

THE END.

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